

Southern

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PARTISAN

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South**



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GOVERNMENT BY JUDICIARY

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

Second Edition

By Raoul Berger

Foreword by Forrest McDonald

It is the thesis of this monumentally argued book that the United States Supreme Court—largely through abuses of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution—has embarked on “a continuing revision of the Constitution, under the guise of interpretation.” Consequently, the Court has subverted America’s democratic institutions and wreaked havoc upon Americans’ social and political lives.

One of the first constitutional scholars to question the rise of judicial activism in modern times, Raoul Berger points out that “the Supreme Court is not empowered to rewrite the Constitution, that in its transformation of the Fourteenth Amendment it has demonstrably done so. Thereby the Justices, who are virtually unaccountable, irremovable, and irreversible, have taken over from the people control of their own destiny, an awesome exercise of power.”

The Court has accomplished this transformation by ignoring or actually distorting the original intent of both the framers and supporters of the Fourteenth Amendment. In school desegregation and legislative reapportionment cases, for example, the Court manipulated the history, meaning, and purpose of the Amendment’s Equal Protection Clause in order to achieve a desired political result. In cases involving First Amendment freedoms and the rights of the accused, the Justices converted the Fourteenth Amendment’s Due Process Clause into a vehicle for the nationalization of the Bill of Rights. Yet these actions were nothing less than “usurpations” that robbed “from the States a power that unmistakably was left to them.”

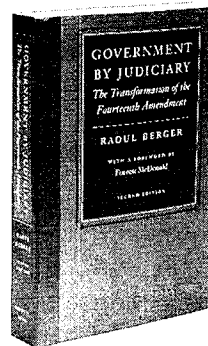
This new second edition includes the original text of 1977 and extensive supplementary discourses in which the author assesses and rebuts the responses of his critics.

Raoul Berger, now 96, retired in 1976 as Charles Warren Senior Fellow in American Legal History at Harvard University.

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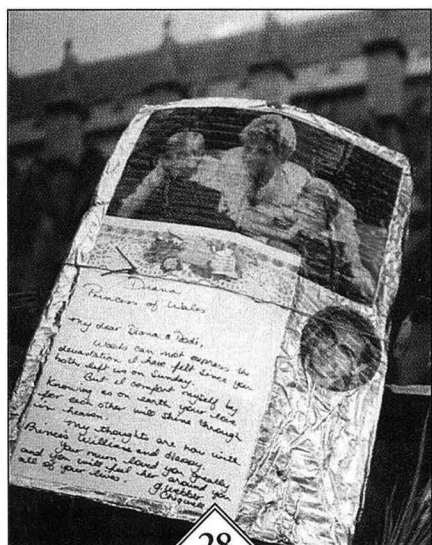
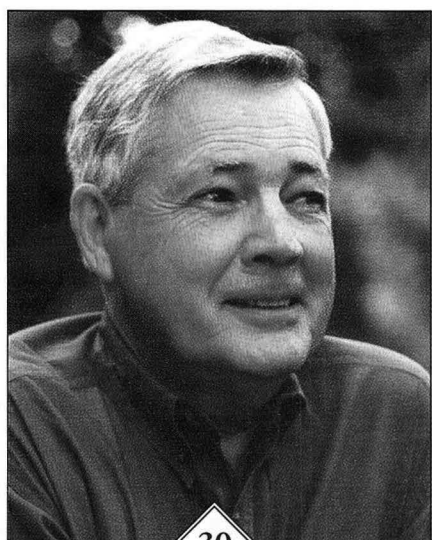
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NEW



**Southern
PARTISAN**

COVER:
*Illustration by
Nancy Minard
Bowie*

Southern PARTISAN

"If there were a Southern magazine, intelligently conducted and aimed specifically, under the doctrine of provincialism, at renewing a certain sort of sectional consciousness and drawing separate groups of Southern thought together, something might be done to save the South..."

—Donald Davidson to Allen Tate
May 1927

"No periodical can well succeed in the South, which does not include the *political* constituent...The mind of the South is active chiefly in the direction of politics...The only reading people in the South are those to whom politics is the bread of life."

—William Gilmore Simms

Southern Quarterly Review, April 1853

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PARTISAN

LETTERS

★ KEEPING MEMORY ALIVE

Gentlemen:

In your first quarter, 1997 issue you featured "A Southern College Goes to War" in which the author, John Chandler Griffin, mentions the 1860 class valedictorian, Alexander C. Haskell. Besides enjoying the article I thought that it would be appropriate to show it to the great-granddaughter of Mr. Haskell, Alice Haskell Sanders, and to her son, Conrad Wienges Sanders, III. Naturally, they were pleased to see it.

There are many people who have ancestors who participated in that struggle who are not ashamed of the roles of those Confederate ancestors in "the Lost Cause;" I hope that you will keep their memories alive by way of similar articles.

L. Phillip Christman, III
Augusta, Georgia

★ REGRET WE SHARE

Gentlemen:

As a subscriber to *Southern Partisan* for more than ten years, I was very disappointed by your choice to run the "Big Ed Johnson—Southern Heritage Apparel" advertisement. To run one ad like that undoes years of trying to convince black Americans that ours is not a cause of racism or hatred. Not only did the statement "If I had known this, I would have picked my own cotton" contribute to the lies about the origins of the war, but is was racially inflammatory and offensive remark. The *Southern Partisan* is too good a magazine to be associated with such ads.

Dan Puryear
Nashville, Tennessee

★ ADD MD OK

Gentlemen:

If Maryland and Oklahoma belong in your "CSA Today" column, why not include New Mexico and Arizona as

well?

In 1861, citizens in the southern portions of present-day New Mexico and Arizona rallied to the Southern cause, and the region was officially established as the Confederate territory of Arizona with its capital at Mesilla. In late 1861 and early 1862, a Confederate force made up largely of Texas volunteers pushed the Yankees up the Rio Grande valley and occupied Albuquerque and Sante Fe. To the west, the Confederates took Tucson, clashed with the Yankees at Picacho Peak, the War's westernmost land battle, and pushed to within 80 miles of California.

However, the Confederate cause in the Southwest was doomed. The CSA, fighting for its survival, was unable to send additional aid. Outnumbered, short of supplies, and facing fresh Union reinforcements from California and Colorado, the Confederates were forced to retreat to Texas despite having never been defeated in battle.

The battlefields of Picacho Peak and Glorieta Pass have been preserved, and Mesilla, a community of adobe buildings that is now part of Las Cruces, New Mexico, seems to have changed little since the days in which it was Confederate Arizona's capital.

Even if New Mexico and Arizona fail to make it into the "CSA Today" column, Southern partisans in these states should feel proud of the contribution they made to the cause of Southern independence.

Larry Orr
La Habra, California

★ A FEW GOOD WOMEN

Gentlemen:

Wow! What an interview with Elizabeth Fox Genovese (*Southern Partisan*, First Quarter, 1997). I am certainly among the younger women who agreed with everything Fox Genovese said in her interview. As a Southerner and native Virginian, I watched and read the VMI case closely. The liberals did seek to overturn

137 years of history and tradition. It doesn't matter that VMI graduates men that turn into some of the most successful, law-abiding, God-fearing men in this country. The New York-Washington-Northeast Yankee hoard is seeking to destroy, through the court system, legislatures, academia and now the military, any semblance of what made this country and certainly the South great.

As a young, "Generation X" woman, I certainly am glad to see women like Elizabeth Fox Genovese take a stand for what is right and be proud of that every time she steps into liberal "La La Land." Yes, women certainly have gained economically, as a group, like she said. I am living proof of that. I have a degree in Engineering and am now working in the chemical industry. I know I can earn just as much as a man, open my own doors and fix a car. That's not the issue. The issue is the complete and wholesale destabilizing effect this radical feminization of our culture is having on this country. I hope that the smart, strong and enterprising Southern young women will certainly not stray to the other side and move lock, stock and barrel in line with the radicals currently permeating American campuses. We need more strong women like Elizabeth Fox Genovese and strong, young men to preserve our wonderful, pioneering, Southern heritage. Keep up the good work, *Southern Partisan*. Write more articles and have more interviews with inspiring Southern women!

Kristyn Ankrom
Colonial Heights, Virginia

★ COUNTER ATTACK

Gentlemen:

I am sure you will receive many replies to the provocative letter from Daniel Neyer (Second Quarter, 1997 *Southern Partisan*) about the Roman Catholic Church. Let me offer some brief comments.

First, Mr. Neyer is mistaken in saying that the Roman Catholic Church is "the only church that claims Christ is really present in the flesh...in the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist." Has he never heard of the Orthodox

Church? The Orthodox have believed in the Real Presence for two thousand years—in fact, since before St. Peter ever set foot in Rome.

Mr. Neyer *seems* to be accusing the generation who fought the War of a deficiency in theological clarity and conviction. I am not sure whether that is really what he intends, but if it is, then he needs to remember the proverb about those who live in glass houses. The present-day Catholic Church is scarcely a paragon of theological steadfastness and resistance to fashionable ideas. It seems to me that the Catholics should be looking to the antebellum Southerners for a model, rather than the other way around. The Southerners may not have had all the truth, but they at least recognized the value of what they had. After all the turmoil and dissent for the last thirty years, one wonders whether the same can be said of the Catholic Church.

David Bradshaw
Lexington, Kentucky

★ HIGH PRAISE

Gentlemen:

Many thanks for having published Thomas J. DiLorenzo's story titled "How Lincoln Destroyed the Jeffersonian Ideal" in your Second Quarter 1997 *Southern Partisan*!

Thanks, too, for letting us know that Jack Kemp "stormed out of the presentation!" What a pity that our great country has come to the point that we ignore the truth and savor that which some demand is politically correct.

Your publication is greatly appreciated in these quarters.

Bill Craven
Waynesboro, Georgia

★ GOOSE BUMPS

Gentlemen:

I just wanted to write a quick note to ya'll while the chill bumps are still settling on my skin. The article printed in the Second Quarter, 1997 *Southern Partisan* written by James Perloff is one I will not soon forget. It seems this man picked from my brain the very thought process for which my inner being cries out everyday.

Vindication is the word I am looking for here. This man James Perloff has described very eloquently, what I believe to be the beginning of the Vindication of the South. If only those blinded by the Yankee one-sided education system, could all take it upon themselves to read about the true history of the war, I believe that we could then move closer to the freedom that our Confederate forefathers fought and died for.

Thank you *Southern Partisan* and thank you James Perloff for having the intelligence to dig in and find the truth out for yourself. This is how I came to the truth, by filtering out the trash I was taught by the winners.

Danny Crabtree
Bowling Green, Kentucky

★ CONFEDERATE ICON

Gentlemen:

I enjoyed the photo of the Confederate flag in Yugoslavia on the cover of the First Quarter, 1997 issue. When I attended school in Italy three years ago, I noticed many American icons. The typical European students I encountered invariably wore Converse All-Stars on their feet, Levi's and a Jack Daniels T-shirt on their bodies, and had a Confederate flag hanging in their rooms. I especially remember attending a Florence vs. Naples soccer game at the height of the Italian secession debate of 1993. I saw more Confederate flags being waved than at an Ole Miss game! The highlight of that experience, however, was seeing a Neopolitan (Southern Italian) fan holding a sign which read, "The South Shall Rise Again!" Some truths really are universal.

Bradley T. Hayes
Jackson, Tennessee

★ BIGOTS REWRITE SOUTHERN HISTORY

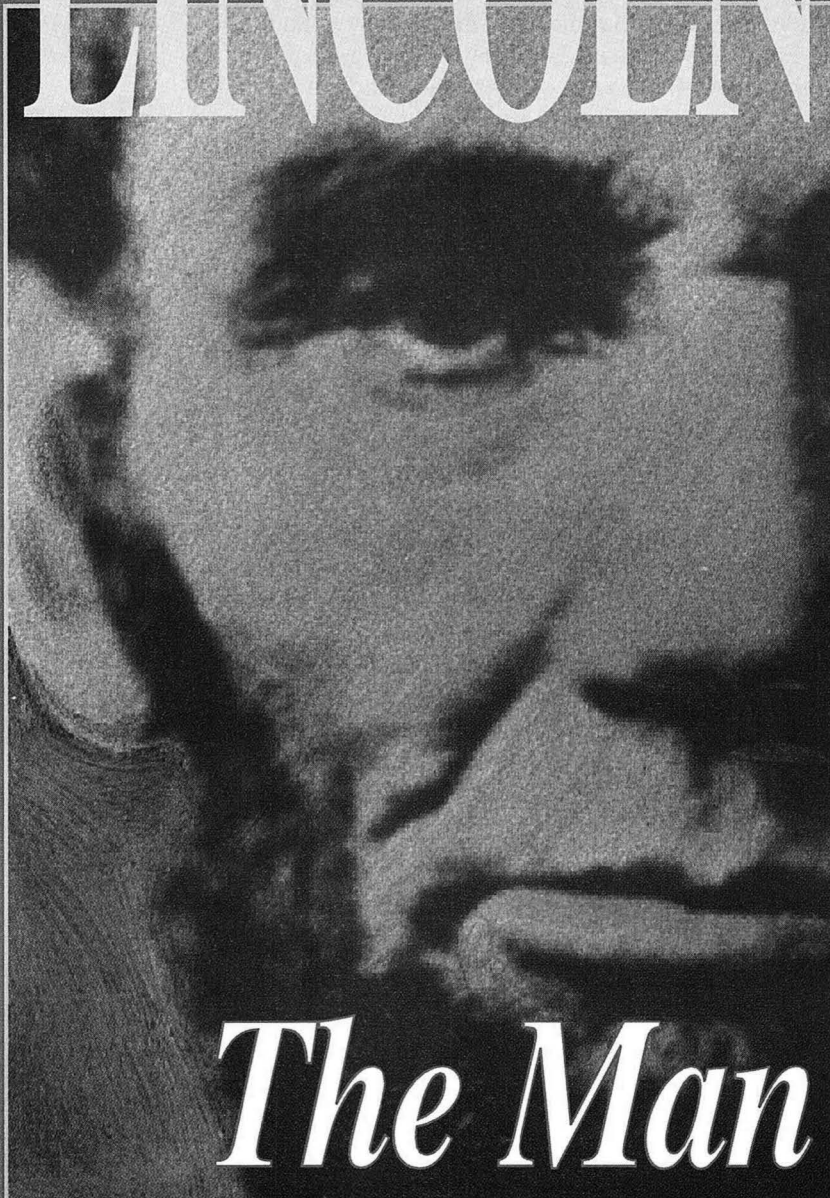
Who has the right to decide which heritage is more valuable than another?

As an American black, I protest the attempts now being made to ignore and/or desecrate symbols that are honored by white Southerners.

Confederate flags, battle and otherwise, will forever be a part of our

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A Character Problem,
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LINCOLN



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- *He was not himself religious but cynically used religious rhetoric to advance his agenda.*
- *He was the first media "spin doctor" (after losing the Lincoln-Douglas debate, he then won the post-debate PR campaign).*
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—Claude Bowers

...the Lincoln myth is definitely a bad myth, and Mr. Masters deserves credit for shattering it... .

—Andrew Lytle

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American history and should be recognized as such.

This flag and other artifacts are the remnants of a vibrant culture which was shared also by my ancestors.

What kind of historical objectivity is achieved by neglecting to cite white Southerners' perspectives on their own society and traditions, as well as on the Civil War?

Such perspectives should be a given, and they should be offered without subjective rancor at the behest of politically correct forces.

It's time for anti-Southern bigots to stop trying to rewrite history and to stop trying to destroy the Southern heritage.

Elizabeth Wright
Editor, *Issues & Views*
New York, New York

Editor's Note: This letter originally appeared in USA Today.

★ FAN MAIL

Gentlemen,

I recently received a copy of *Southern Partisan* from a co-worker of mine. I was raised in a family that moved around a lot due to the father's service in the United States Marine Corps, and served in the Corps myself. My co-worker knows that politically, I am very open minded, and asked if I would read an issue of the magazine. I took the opportunity to read it. My family settled in California, but I live in Mississippi, where my wife is from.

Well I have told you about myself so you may know, that I am not really one of you. However, I have spent more time in the South than anywhere else in my life.

I must now tell you that I feel your magazine, and cause, are dangerous to the United States and is what I consider subversive and treason. I have a new look on the South and it is very ugly.

You lost that war 100 years ago but that seems to be the problem, you can't let it go. Please, be proud of being an American and change the country that way instead of wishing it's destruction.

I am ashamed to live in the South

and will make all haste to anywhere but here.

Tnglfr@aol.com
via America Online

Editor's Note: Mr. Tnglfr, yours is a strange letter to follow Mrs. Wright. Now we would like you to meet Mr. Shultz.

★ MORE LIKE IT

Gentlemen:

I was more than just whistling "Dixie" when I read Mr. Perloff's apology (*Southern Partisan*, Second Quarter, 1997). If I were a younger man, I would have grabbed my flag and run around the neighborhood rebel yelling!! This article should be made into pamphlet form and distributed widely among Yankee and Rebel alike. Indeed, all scoundrels need a copy!

It is ideal that a man from the first state to legalize slavery would be the one to take an honest look at the facts and confess his kin's sins. If more Yanks were that 'umble and honest, we could heal some wounds instead of pouring salt in them.

Many Yanks are haughty by nature, but some are just like Mr. Perloff was—brainwashed with error. As the old song says, "there is none so blind as he who will not see." Mr. Perloff was willing to see and his eyes were opened.

As the League of the South has chapters across the North and receives many inquiries from Copperheads, we can see that there are other Yanks that are willing to see. They find the tree of Lincoln's victory is diseased at the roots and can only produce rotted fruit. Thus, the flag of Southron pride and its values are being saluted by many grandchildren of those who sought to destroy it.

We apologize to the Japanese, who attacked us, because we used what means we had to end the war. Oh, glorious will be the day when a President of the United States will rise to the podium and apologize to the grandchildren of the honorable Confederates for the dishonor, treason, and tyranny of the Lincolmites.

And I hope that while he is at it, he will apologize to the Native American for the genocide practiced on them by the same "freedom fighters."

I am thrilled that he brought out the point that the righteous are not always the victors. Hebrew history shows that God allowed the unrighteous to conquer His people to instruct and chastise them. To the victor belongs the spoils, but that doesn't include being right or righteous.

I refuse to sing "The Battle Hymn of the Repugnant." Singing that in a Southron church is like having the Rabbi reading portions of *Mein Kampf* right before the *Torah*. We admit the North was righteous when we sing their hymn. That hymn was conceived in lies and sung by rapists and looters. It is therefore unclean and perpetuates the lie and gives fame and honor to the infamous and dishonorable. *Amazing Grace* sung by the Devil would be abhorrent and the words of that hymn being sung by the Army of Oppression is no less distasteful.

Secession was nothing more than ending a contract. The states entered into the contract and had the right to end it. If secession were couched in modern terms, we would be saying that the South sued the North for breach of contract and was thereby calling the contract null and void. A plethora of lawyers would have jumped on it, and the South would have won in court.

There would have still been a war. The North would have followed a saying we had in my childhood about sporting events. If we don't win the game, we will win the fight afterwards. The court case would have been a game for them and they would have been gearing up for the fight afterwards during the first quarter when they were losing 42-0.

Anyway, it good to know another Yankee that I can leave the "damn" off of when I speak of him. Mr. Perloff, I salute you, sir! I'd be proud to spend some time on the veranda with you, if you're ever down my way.

Ron Shultz
Mesquite, Texas



You Say You Want A Revolution?

BY RICHARD QUINN

Yankee opinion leaders often get confused when they write (or talk) about Southern Baptists. They think Southern Baptists are *and have always been* "fundamentalists." This, of course, just shows how aggressively ignorant Yankee opinion leaders are about the South.

In point of fact, Southern Baptists are historically not fundamentalists at all. However, forces are at work in the larger culture that may be forging a political coalition between the two. If that happens, one thing is for certain: we will see a political revolution at polling places all across Dixie. Such a coalition—if it forms—would have unprecedented power in the electorate.

This is one of many insights offered in a new book called *The Rise of Baptist Republicanism* written by Oran Smith, who also edits the magazine you now hold in your hands. Here is a sample of his analysis:

...Southern Baptists have always rejected the sect-like separatism that real fundamentalism brings.

In the realm of education, for example, Southern Baptists have been more likely to back the public schools over private Christian academies. In civic affairs, more Southern Baptists joined the Rotary club than Citizens for Life.

Being the controlling force in the culture is not exactly a separatist posture. In the South, Southern Baptists were able to be both theologically conservative and culturally dominant. This balancing act for a

time left Southern Baptists in a strange middle position one writer called 'worldly Evangelicalism.'

But like the pulling of a great lever, all this appeared to change when the Southern Baptist Convention announced its boycott of the Walt Disney corporation. In calling for a jihad against big liberal culture, the SBC was in effect admitting that the mainstream culture they once dominated had become so morally objectionable to them that they were no longer willing to be a part of it. In other words, they were turning separatist and taking on the political style of the fundamentalists.

Jerry Falwell once proudly defined a fundamentalist as a Christian who is mad about something. In that militant posture, Falwell was regarded as the leader of the religious right, as opposed to Billy Graham, who has always

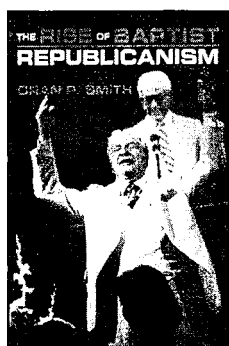
taken a conciliatory tone. With the censure of Disney, the Southern Baptist leadership appears to be taking on a new militancy, moving away from the Graham model to the Falwell position.

This shift to a separatist-style fundamentalism (that originated in the North) is a real change for mild-mannered Southern Baptists, who until recently spent most of their time concentrating on soul-winning and church building while separatist fundamentalists stood aggressively against the cultural forces they saw as insensitive to Christian values.

Is Southern Baptist behavior of late a new form of Yankee fundamentalism? Is it a reaction to the creeping secularization of American culture? Could be. One thing is for sure. The relationship of Southern Baptists to their surroundings is undergoing dramatic change.

A full scale merger between fundamentalist sects and Southern Baptists is not likely to occur any time soon, at least not in a theological way. The two camps are too far apart in church doctrine. But there is the realm of politics, where some ad hoc alliances are now taking place. Southern Baptists comprise approximately 14 million members. If these previously sleepy, mainstream Baptists begin to see themselves the way fundamentalists view themselves, as dedicated soldiers in a culture war, the politics of the South will change in fundamental ways.

You will find Dr. Smith's book full of important insights into both politics and religion. Just released by New York University Press, it is necessary reading for anyone who wants to understand the cultural forces that are shaping Southern and American politics now and in the future. ★



The Rise of Baptist Republicanism

ORAN P. SMITH

"The alliance of southern Baptists and southern Republicans has been one of the most significant but least understood developments in modern American politics. [This book] skillfully analyzes this linkage and explains its importance for the nation. Gracefully written and extensively documented, *The Rise of Baptist Republicanism* is a welcome addition to the literature on American politics and religion."

—Earl Black, coauthor of *Politics and Society in the South* and *The Vital South*

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When the Wind Blows

Many commentators have argued that the South has regained its political clout in Congress — that Sam Rayburn and Dick Russell have been reincarnated in Newt Gingrich and Trent Lott. After all, the Speaker of the House is from Georgia and the Majority Leader of the Senate is from Mississippi. So the South has risen again, right?

Clearly not. Gingrich is a transplanted Pennsylvanian who represents Atlanta suburbanites. His average constituent is 38 years old; comes from Steubenville, Ohio; works for AT&T; has never eaten grits; and believes that cotton comes from cottonwood trees. Newt Gingrich is about as Southern as William Tecumseh Sherman.

Trent Lott is a more complicated figure. His Southern roots go deep. He was born and raised in Mississippi, was a cheerleader at Ole Miss, and still speaks with a Southern accent. Over the years, people have thought of him as one of the region's best representatives in Washington. He has even been interviewed by *Southern Partisan*.

Yet his recent voting record is checkered, and as Majority Leader he's out-doled Dole in compromising allies and cutting backroom deals. Conservative leaders in Washington are increasingly appalled at his willingness to give the President what he wants, just so long as corporate America gets what it wants. Left out of that loop are the grassroots con-



Senator Lott was interviewed in *Southern Partisan* in 1984.

servatives of Mississippi.

Some people believe Lott's failure to provide strong leadership is caused by lack of backbone. As the vice president of one powerful conservative lobbying firm put it, "When the second volume of *Profiles In Courage* is written, there'll be no chapter on Trent Lott."

Others believe Lott looks longingly toward the other end of the Mall, where the White House sparkles in sunlight like the Emerald City of Oz. Many Washington Republicans have come to believe that the Yellow Brick Road is paved with compromises. The big money men in the GOP are usually liberal in their social views and internationalist in foreign policy. They look on states' rights as either a useless anachronism or else a danger to the New World Order. They contribute huge sums to Planned Parenthood and may even support the Human Rights Campaign Fund. Many are

secretly pleased with Clinton and next time will again support the Democrat if the Republican nominee sounds the least bit like Pat Buchanan.

There aren't many of these people. However, they provide a cowardly lion's share of the funding for Republican candidates, so they usually set the agenda for the GOP. That's the main reason why Republican presidential candidates turn so squishy every four years. And since he became Majority Leader, Lott has squished in the worst sort of way. Consider the following examples:

- He supported legislation to hand over to a corrupt president the power to make international trade agreements without advice and consent from Congress.

- He supported Most Favored Nation (MFN) status for communist China, the most dangerous nation left in the world.

- He supported a \$27 billion medical insurance program to gather millions of children under the wing of the federal bureaucracy, a giant step toward total government control of health care in America.

- Along the same lines, he supported legislation that would prohibit doctors who treat Medicare patients from seeing private patients—thereby making a large segment of the medical profession "employees" of the federal government.

- While pretending to support a balanced budget, he pushed for approval of an agreement that increased federal spending to a record high.

■ He appointed Jim Jeffords to chair the powerful Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, thereby ensuring a continuation of Most Favored Lobby status for the National Organization of Women and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. (Labor and Human Resources is the most important committee in the Senate to pro-family, pro-life advocates — and Jeffords is its most liberal member. As chairman, he wields power that is all but absolute.)

So who's to blame for this record of sly waffling and back-room betrayal? Can we blame Senator Lott? Certainly he has a responsibility to represent the people of Mississippi, and he's clearly failed to do that on these crucial issues. Like many in the Upper Chamber, he's tended to forget the constitutional role he's supposed to play—i.e., to represent his state. In addition he's ignored the majority of old-fashioned

Mississippians who sent him there. (When Southern senators behave that way, the press calls them "statesmen.")

In addition, conservative groups in Washington must bear some of the blame. While activists of the left hector and harangue wavering Democrats, conservative advocates in Washington are unwilling to criticize Republicans who sleep with the enemy. In part, they behave with such timidity because they haven't the stomach to use the power they wield, in part because their organizations depend for financial support on Republicans of a more moderate stripe.

But the people of Mississippi are mostly to blame. Trent Lott is faint-hearted—and faint-hearted politicians sway with the wind like stalks of ragweed. Lott isn't a liberal. Indeed, he probably believes in all the right things. But living in Washington is like living in Skylab: You can only see the world from a great distance—and your associations are severely limited.

Mississippians—indeed all who believe in traditional values—have the responsibility to let Senator Lott know just how they feel about his voting record and his cozy beddings with Bill Clinton. If the wind blows hard enough to the right, you can be certain he'll bend quickly and surely in that direction. ☼

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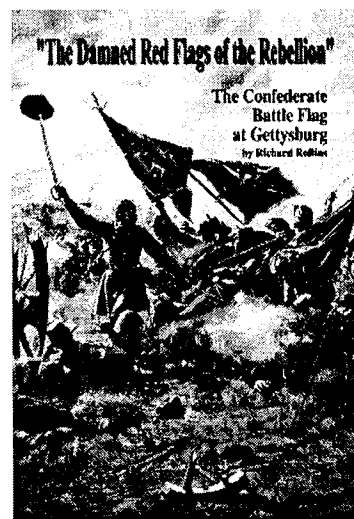
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The Trial That Was and Wasn't

Donna Meekins and her son Gary Ward are suing Westwood Hill Baptist Church of Kempsville, Virginia. According to papers filed with the circuit court, Meekins and Ward claim church pastor Jess Jackson and eight other members destroyed a rock garden paid for by Ward's father in the church cemetery because the memorial contained Masonic symbols.

The church admits to digging up the memorial, but claims that the demolition was protected by the First Amendment. Circuit Judge Frederick Lowe isn't so sure, ruling that the First Amendment does not protect churches that *destroy property*. He has agreed to let the case go to trial. Meekins and Ward are seeking \$400,000 for infliction of emotional distress.

Let's watch this one closely. If the plaintiffs win, maybe Southerners will be able to sue for damages when street signs and historic monuments are ripped apart across the South in the name of political correctness. In fact, about 132 years ago, there almost was a case in court about who was right—South or North—under the laws of the old Republic. As you will see in the next issue of *Southern Partisan*, the case was stopped at the last minute by Yankees who knew they couldn't win. Look for details about the real "Trial of the Century" in the Fourth Quarter issue now in production.

Alabama at War with the Feds

Last year the Federals went to war with Alabama over the Ten Commandments in a state courtroom. This year they are out to stop prayer in Alabama schools. According to news reports, DeKalb county, Alabama will enjoy the presence of a special federal "prayer police" to

make sure a court order against religion is obeyed. Monitors will watch classrooms and school functions.

U. S. District Judge Ira Dement's ruling forbids "religious activity in class, including vocal prayer, Bible and religious devotional or scriptural readings, distributions of religious material...and discussions of a devotional/inspirational nature...regardless of whether it was initiated by students." Judge Dement is singling out DeKalb County schools for special treatment because schools in that county have ignored the judge's previous rulings, permitting such unlawful activities as prayer before football games.

The people of the northeast Alabama county are in open warfare with the federal court, staging protest rallies, praying before the school day begins, and circling the football field to pray before home games. The governor, Republican Fob James, already in arms against the feds over the posting of the Ten Commandments in a state courtroom, backs the revolt.

"[This judge's order is a] moral and legal catastrophe," said James. The fire-eating Southern governor also offered to lead prayers at any school that asks him. (James suggested that he might mobilize the Alabama National Guard to protect the Ten Commandments).

The Alabama case is, of course, proof that there really are fundamental difference between Yankees and Southerners and those differences have nothing to do with race.

For a more detailed treatment of how and why we're different, be sure to read the cover story in this issue, "The Rising South" / "The South As Nation," beginning on page 18.

Keeping Promises

By now every *Southern Partisan* subscriber has heard of Promise Keepers, the Christian men's organization founded by former Colorado football coach Bill McCartney.

(McCartney and his promise-keeping men descended on Washington recently for a new version of the Million Man March, only this time there really were a million men involved.)

Until the march, what we heard about the Promise Keepers was mostly bad: Hucksters were running it, their theology was dumbed-down, their rallies were shallow emotional exercises and they enforced strict racial quotas in their selection of platform speakers.

Then came the march. The National Organization for Women (NOW) had a field day calling the PKs everything from chauvinists to political operators to power-mad dictators. Hmmm. Maybe those Promise Keepers are on to something. After all, Charlie Daniels was seen wearing a PK hat in a recent video. If the CDB thinks PK is OK, then it must be OK.

Permission Noted

Southern Partisan wishes to gratefully acknowledge to permission of DixieNet for the use of charts and graphs in our cover story, *The South As Nation*. The worldwide web address for DixieNet is www.dixienet.org. The address is PO Box 40910, Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35404-0910, (205) 553-0155.

Young Blacks and the Flag

It may not be evident now, but there is a significant conservative movement among young blacks. Anyone who heard Alan Keyes dismantle Al Franken on *Politically Correct* with Bill Maher saw the most interesting recent example. This carries over into the flag fight as well.

In the campaign for Virginia House of Delegates in the 58th District, black Republican conservative Paul Harris had choice words for his Democrat opponent:

"54,000 blacks fought on behalf of the South on their own free will.... We need to get back to being one people... The race problems we see in the South in my estimation are not the result of the Civil War; they are a result of Reconstruction."

The white Democrat was not pleased, as he saw his base drifting GOP. Harris found a receptive audience however, leaving the debate with an invitation to address the Greene county Sons of Confederate Veterans. It could be that the idea of racial reconciliation may find a form not anticipated by its anti-South authors.

The More Things Change...

James Perloff, our favorite Northern man of Southern principle, used our last cover story to apologize to all of us for the sins of his native region. Now Jim is stirring up more trouble. In his regular study into the history of North vs. South, Mr. Perloff has discovered the following authentic recipe for a Yankee:

Cunning	125 parts
Hypocrisy	125 parts
Avarice	125 parts
Falsehood	125 parts

Sneakingness [sic]	125 parts
Nameless & Numberless	
Small Vices	140 parts
Essence of Onions, New England rum, Molasses & Cod fish	235 parts

The author? Algernon Sidney Johnston, brother of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, CSA. Johnston offered this comprehensive recipe in *Memoirs of a Nullifier* published ahead of its time in 1832. Most Southerners didn't discover the true ingredients until 29 years later.



Scalawag Award

Coach Scalawag

Okay. Let's begin this with a disclaimer: if you are interested in finding answers to the tough moral questions of life, the place to go is not the office of the head football coach of your local university. Even the best coaches deal with smaller questions like whether to run or pass the ball; how to give 110%; urging their charges to take "one game at a time" (although we've never quite understood the alternative) and figuring out whether the back field is illegally in motion. Winning means a bowl game, an extension of the five-year contract, perhaps a raise and maybe a contract to endorse overpriced tennis shoes.

Tommy Tuberville (see photo on page 27) is no exception. We don't expect Tommy to tell us how to vote, to solve social problems or to explain to us the meaning of life. And for good reason: football

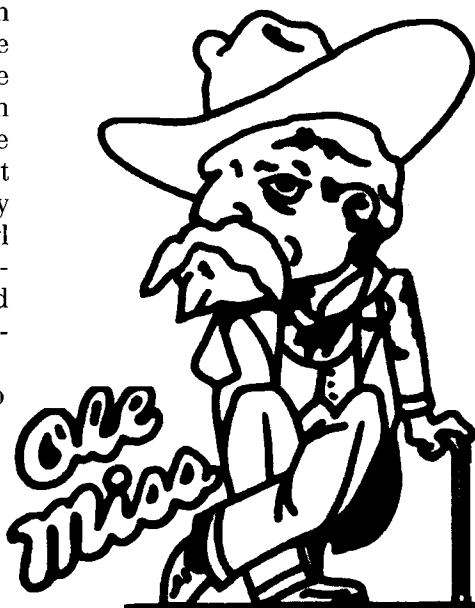
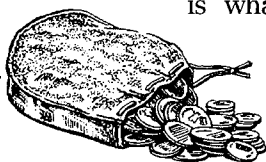
is what he knows. Well, Coach Tommy has decided he wants to be a social philosopher and a moral crusader of the politically correct type. In the name of racial harmony, he has asked the students and alumni at Ole Miss to get rid of their Confederate flags. It's giving the school a bad name, Tommy says.

The students, of course, answered Tuberville's plea with more flags than ever at football games. But Coach Tommy and his

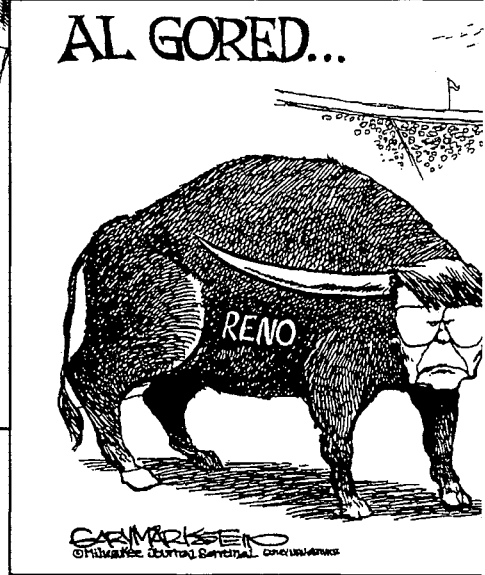
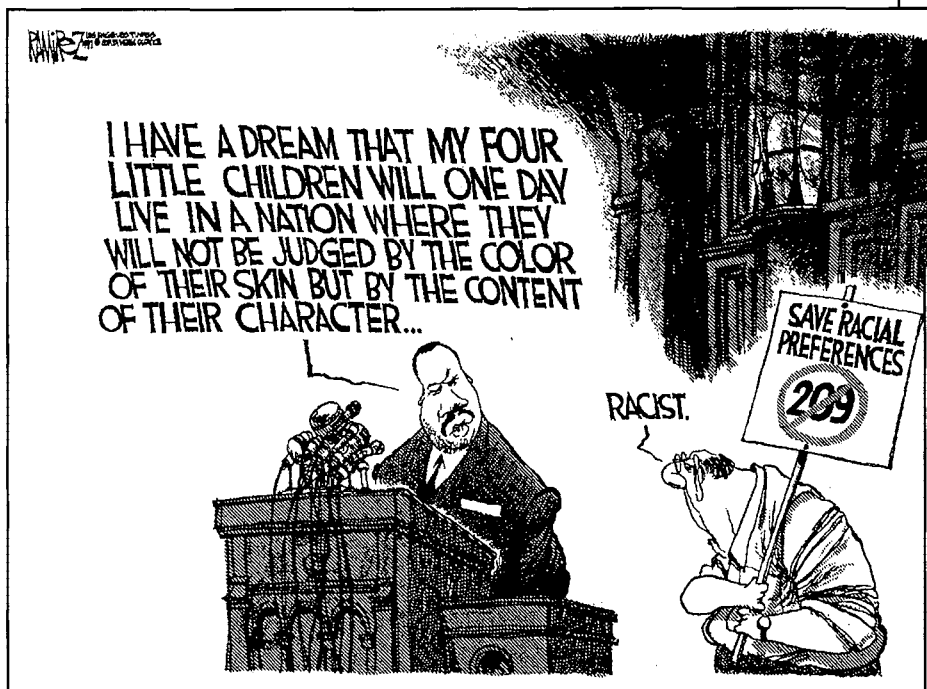
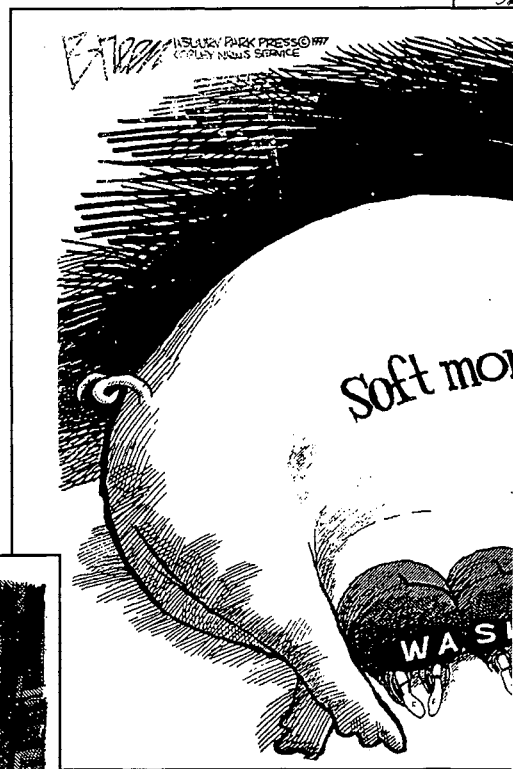
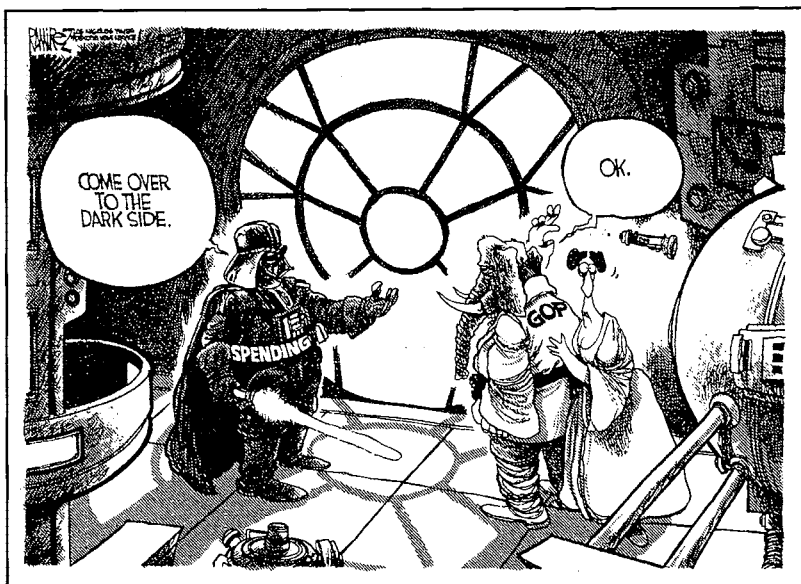
friends on the Administration had another trick up their sleeve. Realizing they couldn't ban flags (something called the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution stood in their way) they decided that flag sticks were "unsafe." So they banned not the flags but the sticks. Clever devils. But that didn't work either. Students and alumni left their sticks at home and brought flags the size of Buicks to display in the stands. One enterprising young Vol even passed out flags to Tennessee fans for the Ole Miss-UT game in Knoxville.

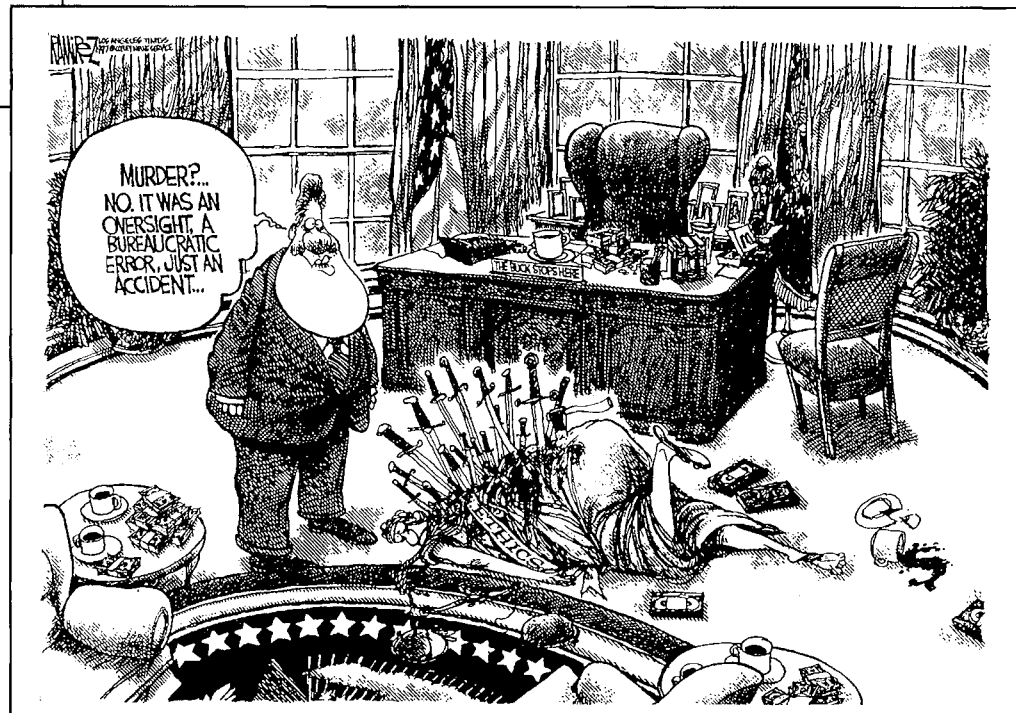
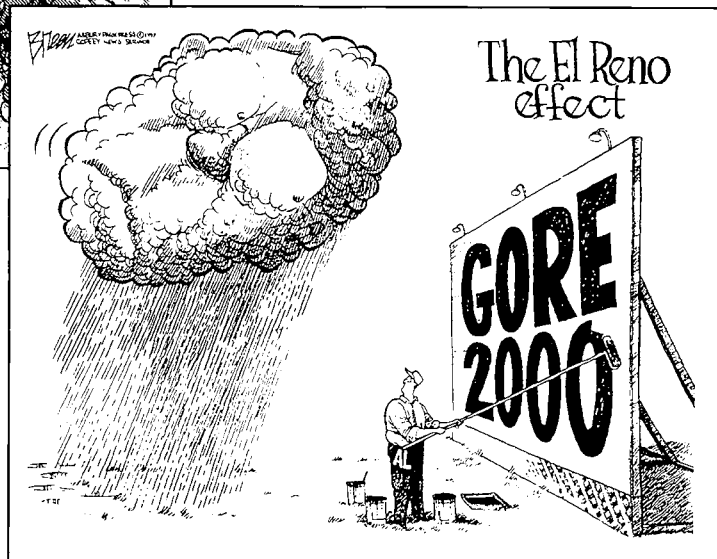
The Volunteers waved the flag and beat the mud out of the Rebels.

Our suggestion to Coach Tuberville (who is our Scalawag for this issue) is to pay a little more attention to what's happening on the football field. Fans of Ole Miss are capable of deciding what their heritage means to them and how they want to honor it. And if Tommy is offended by the battle flag, there are other schools and other fans far away who may share his ignorance of what the flag stands for. Coaches who see flags usually suffer some kind of penalty. In this case, 15 yards against Tommy Tuberville for unSouthernlike sportsmanship. ✱

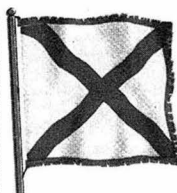
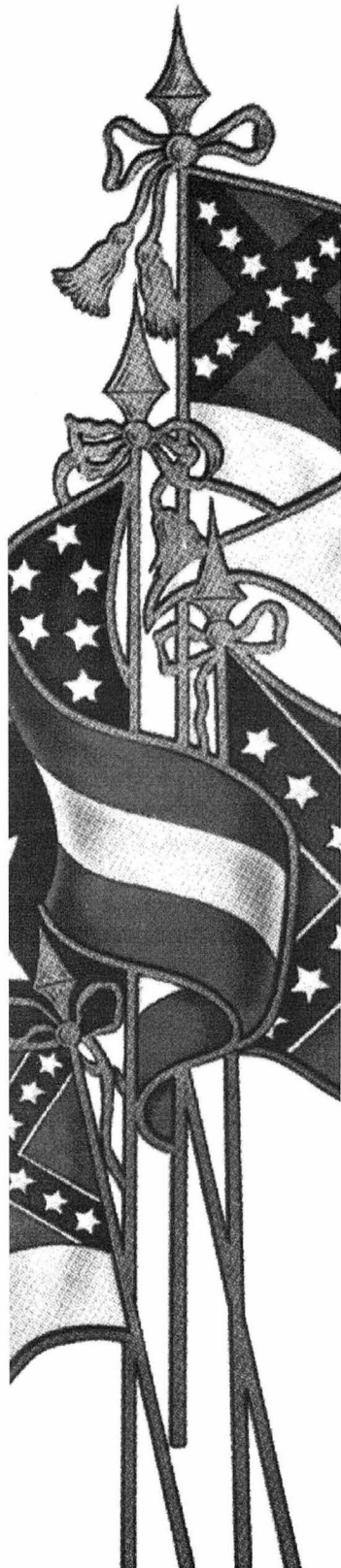


PARTISAN *toons*





CSA TODAY



ALABAMA

Trash Talkin'

The latest skirmish in the War Between the States is the claim that the song "I'm Alabammy Bound" is offensive to blacks.

"It's the use of the word 'Alabammy,' instead of 'Alabama,'" said Lucious Abdul of the Southern Association of Black Brothers. "It's an intentional slur against African Americans. It's like we can't pronounce the name of our own state."

When asked what his organization intended to do about it, Abdul replied, "We intend to boycott and badmouth anyone who plays or sings the song."



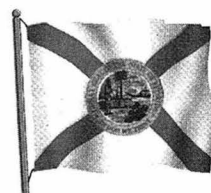
ARKANSAS

Fading Starr

It's beginning to look as if Bill and Hillary have weathered the storm and will survive their second term. Paula Jones may skin a place on Bill, but all the rest of his Arkansas critics have grown silent—even those that are still alive.

Kenneth Starr, true to the Republican spirit, hasn't the sand to push the investigation much further. His pronouncement that Vince Foster committed suicide—in the face of substantial evidence to the contrary—is a signal that it's all over. He and the rest of the GOP leadership have given up.

Haven't heard the word "Whitewater" lately, have you? What's more, you may never hear it again.



FLORIDA

Strange Relatives

A man was spotted floating in the Atlantic Ocean off the Florida coast near Ft. Lauderdale. When he was

picked up, he was bobbing about amidst what appeared to be the debris of a wrecked boat. Authorities also found cocaine floating around him—about 1,800 pounds of the stuff, baled for shipment.

U.S. Customs Service spokesman Michael Sheehan, commenting on the incident, said: "We're looking into the guy. The dope that was found around him and some dope that was found in Palm Beach that we think might be related."

You really think you're on to something, Mike?



GEORGIA

Booting Newt

We're picking up rumors that a group of maverick conservatives are prepared to rise up next year and run a third-party candidate against Newt Gingrich.

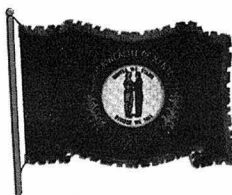
Gingrich—who has been a big behind-the-scenes supporter of liberal social causes (e.g. gay rights)—has been bullying conservative members of Congress who refused to follow his lead in cutting a budget deal with the White House.

Most Georgians don't know how much of the store their congressman gave away in compromising with the President. For example, as one provision of the budget bill, doctors who treat Medicare patients will no longer be able to take on other patients. In addition, all children not covered by insurance care or Medicaid will now be covered by a new federal insurance program—a radical approach Congress voted down earlier. Thus Gingrich and his cronies on Capitol Hill have quietly opened the back door and allowed government control of medicine to slip in.

These issues, as well as Gingrich's record on abortion and gay rights, make the strutting Speaker vulnerable to an attack from the Right. According to our sources, the third party effort would attempt to remove Gingrich on the grounds that the Republicans

will retain the House anyway, so why not dump Gingrich and get Dick Armey as Speaker of the House?

That's the plan, and those formulating it are dead serious. They already have a candidate picked.



KENTUCKY

Derby Dark Horse

According to Washington conservatives, Kentucky may have a native son running for the GOP presidential nomination in the year 2,000.

No, it's not Mitch McConnell.

It's Gary Bauer, who heads the Family Research Council, a conservative think tank located in Washington. Bauer, who's never been elected to public office, has grown increasingly disillusioned with the Republican Party leadership—and the poor candidates the GOP has nominated over the past eight years.

As Ronald Reagan's Domestic Policy Advisor, he's made a lot of friends in the conservative movement. But his lack of a power base makes him at best a long shot.

If he hasn't surfaced in a big way by the summer of 1998, forget we ever mentioned it.



LOUISIANA

Nutria Futura?

For years the folks in Louisiana have been plagued by a large rodent called a nutria. Nutrias are about the size of cats and feed on the roots of plants. Like 'possums, they're suicidal in their jousts with automobiles and consequently grease the surface of the highways, particularly in the Southern part of the state. Official estimates of the nutria population—20 million and climbing.

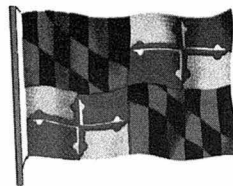
At last the Louisiana Department of Highways has the ultimate solution to the nutria question: They're urging folks to eat them.

According to experts, your average nutria yields about 5-6 pounds of succulent meat, including bones, and about 3 pounds of the pure stuff.

O.K., so they smell pretty bad when they're cooking. Of that drawback, naturalist Mark Becker says, "Hopefully through some

sharp marketing we can get beyond that."

The next time you go to New Orleans, ask the waiter at Antoine's if any one of the dishes with French names is good old Louisiana nutria. If so, you'll know some mighty sharp marketers have been at work.



MARYLAND

Ernest T. Bass, Alumnus

Charles Hickey School in Baltimore is known in the area for its sportsmanship and its athletes. Every year the school receives letters from other high schools, commending the Hickey players for the courtesy and sportsmanship on the field.

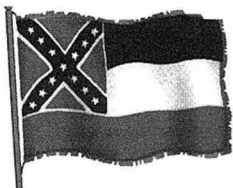
And its academic program is equally admirable. As one teacher put it, "These are the best behaved students I've ever taught — and the most eager to learn. I never want to go back to the public school system."

Visitors to Hickey are impressed by the good manners of the students, who come up to them, offer their hands, and introduce themselves.

So is Charles Hickey School an exclusive private school?

Not exactly.

It's the state reformatory.



MISSISSIPPI

Wildmon on the Loose

If you want to know why Levi-Strauss just shut down 11 of its 32 plants and laid off 6,000 workers, you needn't look further than Tupelo, Mississippi, headquarters of the American Family Association. AFA has mounted one of its most successful boycotts against the California jeans manufacturer, which has been one of the most flagrant and aggressive supporters of the gay rights movement.

Network analysts blamed the decline of the company on everything from the khaki fad to Ralph Lauren, but none dared to mention AFA, which just put another notch in its belt.

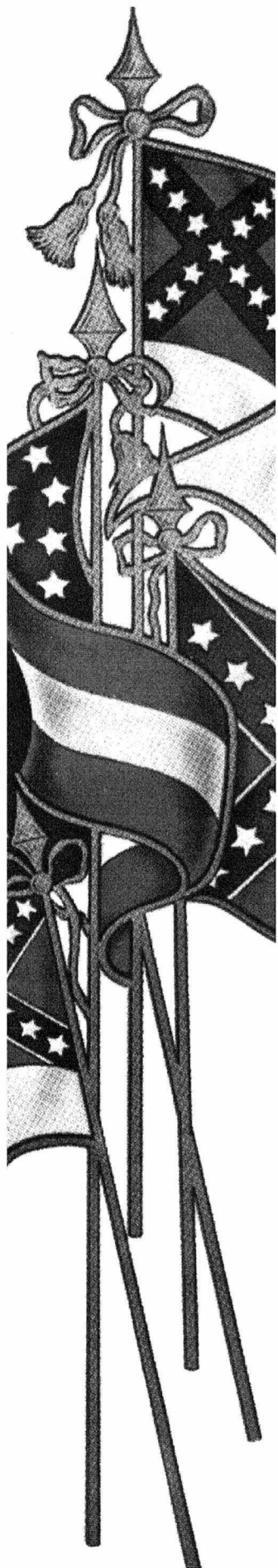


MISSOURI

Test Tube Party

The Reform Party held its national convention in Kansas City recently, and

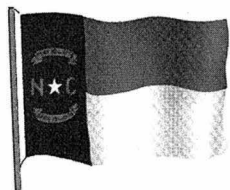




Ross Perot was there to pat the 400 delegates on the head as they drafted a constitution and a platform for their dwindling organization. Perot treats the Reform Party the way a busy man treats his mistress: When he has other things on his mind, he neglects her; but when he wants her, he demands her undivided attention.

Following the convention, he told *Meet the Press*: "Whether I have to run for president or not will be determined in the future. I would prefer not to. I'd prefer not to be in public life. And the only reason I am doing this is because of my concern for the future of this country."

In an expanded version of the show, the sun was asked if it intended to rise Monday morning. The sun replied: "Whether or not I rise tomorrow will be determined in the future. I'd prefer not to rise. The only reason I'm doing this is because of my concern for the earth."



NORTH CAROLINA

Melon-odius

Langdon Pleasant, a third-grader from Clayton, learned in October that he had grown the nation's largest water melon. The melon weighed 198.5 pounds.

As a matter of fact, while Langdon was pleased, he was also a little disappointed, since he grew a melon last year that weighed 221.5 pounds. In case anyone is interested, Langdon himself weighs just a little over 70 pounds.

His ultimate goal is to beat the world's record—a Tennessee melon grown in 1990 that weighed 262 pounds. Langdon believes he can grow one that weighs 270 pounds, because he has a secret weapon. He sings to it.

"Last year I sung to them," he said, "and they were bigger. I'm going to have to start back up, every Saturday and Sunday morning. I don't care if people think it's weird. It helps."



OKLAHOMA

JC of the GOP

Congressman J.C. Watts, prominently mentioned as a future GOP vice-presidential nominee, is looking more and more like a nation-

al player.

In November, Watts was in North Carolina giving a speech in the Jesse Helms Lecture Series at Wingate College. He also stopped to make a talk at West Charlotte High School, where he made a big hit with a multi-racial student body.

"He's the conservative answer to Colin Powell," said one Republican activist. "Can you imagine what the networks would say if we ran him for president?"

"Did you say *president*?" we asked.

"I said *president*."



SOUTH CAROLINA

Let My Children Go

E. Ray Moore, a former Army Chaplain (Lt. Col.), is spearheading a movement that may soon strike terror in the hearts of Dick Riley, Bill Clinton, and the National Education Association.

Moore heads a new organization called Exodus 2000. Its purpose: To lead Christian children out of the public school system, the way Moses led the children of Israel out of Egypt.

Moore argues persuasively that we've given the education reform movement more than enough time to fix what's broke. Our youngsters barely know how to read and write. They're being indoctrinated with moral relativism. And when they go to the restroom, they get mugged.

If we all pull out together, he says, then the educational establishment will either collapse or come begging on bended knee for one more chance.

If you're interested, you can write Moore at the following address: Exodus 2000 Project, Post Office Box 6646, Columbia, SC 29260-6646. (Website address: www.exodus2000.org)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Barbara Nielsen, South Carolina's State Education Superintendent, is about to flunk out of school. S.C. students finished dead last in SAT scores, and school violence is on the upswing. Nielsen, a liberal Republican, is cozy with the national education establishment and as a consequence she blames all her troubles on money. This year she has asked for more than \$2.6 billion to tinker around the edges of the system rather than reform it.

A political meddler, Nielsen has publicly advocated removing the Confederate flag

from the capitol dome and is a defender of racial quotas, despite the fact that, in recent years, federal courts have consistently ruled them unconstitutional.

Two Republicans have already indicated a willingness to challenge her next year. Prediction: She won't seek reelection.



TENNESSEE

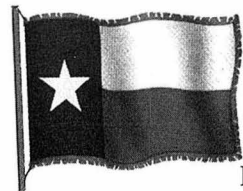
Fool's Gold?

The nation's newest billionaire could be Bill Hester—provided the city of Knoxville pays him what he says it owes him.

Hester inherited a \$1,000 municipal bond from his grandfather. The bond was issued in 1882 by the Knoxville Water Works. The city made only one interest payment—in 1910; and, according to Hester, the bond is now worth \$1.8 billion in gold or \$1 million in cash.

Because there's a hole punched in the bond, Knoxville officials refuse to pay. "It is our position that in the absence of additional evidence," said city spokesman Craig Griffith, "it has been paid. We have old bonds like that hanging as decoration in our finance office."

To that Hester has replied, "My attorneys will be asking for the payment in gold."



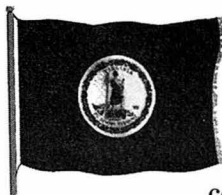
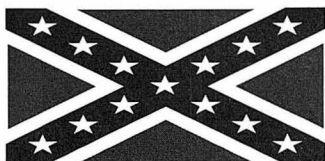
TEXAS

Mel of the Ages

The late M.E. Bradford—University of Dallas historian, literary critic, and political philosopher—is emerging as one of the major intellectual figures of the late 20th century. Several national seminars have focused on his work, the University of Missouri Press is publishing a critical study, students are assigned his books in college, and a former student has begun to collect materials for a biography.

Bradford is no longer regarded as merely a Southern thinker. He's now seen as a brilliant and original interpreter of the American Founding, as well as the War Between the States.

You might say he belongs to the ages.



VIRGINIA

More is Less

Jim Gilmore's victory in Virginia was not the conservative triumph some are saying. During the heat of the campaign, Gilmore flip-flopped on abortion, and his major campaign issue was his promise to end the automobile tax in the state. Democrats tried to hang Pat Robertson around Gilmore's neck like a dead chicken, but Pat wasn't scary enough to turn out the Democratic vote in Northern Virginia. Even in that part of the state, Democrats were more interested in saving several hundred bucks on their automobile tax. ☼

IS THE WAR OVER?

Perhaps, but the Cause lives on!

The Southern Heritage Association is dedicated to forging a cohesive strategy not only to defend the symbols of the South but also to promote the principles and ideals for which so many Southerners suffered and died.

The causes for which our ancestors fought are not over. In fact they have hardly disappeared from the nation's headlines.

The SHA is committed to preserving the ideals of traditional values and constitutional government.



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THE SOUTH AS AN INDEPENDENT NATION

BY WILLIAM LAMAR CAWTHON, JR.



"Being a Southerner is a spiritual condition, like being a Catholic or Jew." So wrote Richard Weaver in his essay "The South and the American Union" in *The Lasting South* (1957). The South's experience during the war for its independence, he added, only confirmed this separateness of spirit and a need to be a separate nation.

"[The South] might be viewed as an American Ireland, Poland or Armenia, not indeed unified by a different religious allegiance from its invader, but different in its way of life, different in the values it ascribed to things by reason of its world outlook, and made more different after the war by its necessary confrontation of the tragic view . . ."

With the United States seeking independence for countries around the world, Weaver wrote, "it has certainly been handsome of the South not to raise the question of its own independence again."

Why that question has not been raised in the political arena by Southerners of late is one of the puzzling and intriguing questions of late 20th century America. With the re-emergence of independent nation-states rising from the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union and the stirrings of nationalism among other culturally and politically suppressed peoples around the world, American Southerners may well constitute the major nationality in the free world without a politically active separatist movement.

The possibility of a politically independent Southern nation is not as far-fetched as many might think. Increasing numbers of scholars are writing about the probable dismantling of large nations. Robert Kaplan, in *Atlantic Monthly* of February 1994, predicted substantial changes in national boundaries in the next century, possibly including the United States. These changes will be fueled, Kaplan believes, by environmental, demographic, cultural, ethnic and religious stresses.

There are substantial arguments in favor of these national divisions, articulating the virtue of small nations. The English Canadian Jane Jacobs, in her *Cities and the Wealth of Nations* (1984), argues for the theoretical division of large nations into smaller sovereignties in order to promote economic prosperity. One of her principal defenses is that a uniform currency for a large nation triggers the wrong economic responses in many of its cities because of differing circumstances and needs. In her earlier work, *The Question of Separatism: Quebec and the Struggle over Sovereignty*

THE SOUTH AS NATION:			
Votes in the United States Congress			
ROLL CALL VOTE	YEAR	U.S.	SOUTH
Liberalize Immigration	1965	FOR	AGN
Liberalize Immigration	1986	FOR	AGN
Liberalize Immigration	1990	FOR	AGN
Restrict Immigration	1996	AGN	FOR
Protect School Prayer	1971	AGN	FOR
Remove School Prayer from Courts	1985	AGN	FOR
School Prayer Resolution	1992	AGN	FOR
Ban Abortion	1983	AGN	FOR
Keep Women Out of Combat	1991	AGN	FOR
Cap Welfare Benefits	1995	AGN	FOR
Brady Bill (Gun Control)	1993	FOR	AGN
Ban Assault Weapons	1994	FOR	AGN
Protect State Court Authority	1991	AGN	FOR
Protect State Schools from Feds	1976	AGN	FOR
Stop Busing	1980	FOR	AGN
BUDGET MATTERS			
Balanced Budget Amendment	1995	AGN	FOR
Enact Line Item Veto	1985	AGN	FOR
Penny-Kasich Spending Reduction	1993	AGN	FOR
Clinton Tax Increase	1993	FOR	AGN
FOREIGN AFFAIRS			
Panama Canal Give Away	1978	FOR	AGN
Enact Contra Aid	1986	AGN	FOR

(1980), she viewed small nations as offering "the only promising arrangement" for the type of active government prevalent today, beset by bewildering bureaucracy and inefficiencies which large nations land centralization of power greatly compound. She was sympathetic to Quebec secession also because it would promote the flourishing of the culture of French Quebec on its own terms, the only way, she rightly notes, any culture can flourish.

Harry Schultz, a well known international investment consultant, in 1991 published *On Re-Making the World: Cut Nations Down to Size*. His major thesis was that large nations, including the United States, should break up into smaller nation-states reflecting their cultures, economies, religions, races and topography. He believes that this would reduce tensions and bloodshed and promote individual freedom, representative government and economic prosperity. James Ronald Kennedy and

Walter Donald Kennedy, in *The South Was Right* (1994) advocated the resumption of sovereignty by the Southern states and establishment of a new Southern nation-state failing the reestablishment of a federal republic of limited powers for the entire United States. Thomas H. Naylor, professor emeritus of economics at Duke University, and William H. Wilimon have recently published *Downsizing the U.S.A.* (1997). Naylor believes that the United States should "begin planning the process to facilitate orderly secession of states that want to assume more responsibility for their own destiny."

Long before the fall of Communism and the new possibilities for nationalism which that momentous development unleashed, Robert Whitaker and John Shelton Reed in the early 1980s raised the issue of Southern Nationalism in the pages of *Southern Partisan*. Whitaker, seeing the South as a nation, urged Southerners to pursue their interests as

THE SOUTH AS NATION:

Population

Rank	Nation	Population
1	China	1175359
2	India	900543
3	USA	258063
4	Indonesia	187151
5	Brazil	156406
6	Russia	148537
7	Japan	124845
8	Pakistan	122829
9	Bangladesh	116702
10	Nigeria	104893
	Census South	89438
11	Mexico	86712
	CQ South	81374
12	Germany	80769
	11-State South	74354
13	Vietnam	70881
14	Philippines	65775
15	Iran	61422
16	Turkey	59461
17	Thailand	58824
18	UK	58040
19	Italy	57840
20	France	57650
21	Egypt	55745
22	Ethiopia	53297
23	Ukraine	52141
24	Burma	44704
25	South Korea	44056

Population in thousands

Southerners *politically*, and therefore save the South from the destructive forces of the "melting pot" policies of the modern U. S. government. The United States Constitution was designed to facilitate regional cultural identify, Whitaker argued, not destroy it. Failing a return to the original principles of the Constitution, Southerners have the option of political separation, Whitaker maintained.

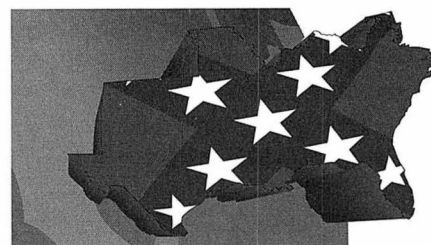
Noting influential separatist movements in Scotland and Quebec and in other Western countries, John Shelton Reed asked why the United States has been immune. He gave some very cogent reasons, but also wrote in 1982 that he wouldn't be surprised to see a Southern separatist movement

It will likely surprise most Southerners, and Americans in general, to learn that if the 11 states of the historic Confederate States of America were a politically independent nation, the new nation-state would have the fourth largest gross domestic product on earth, at over \$1.5 trillion.

emerge. "I for one would find an American politics where the proper balance between federal power and decentralization was subject to debate preferable to one where an arrogant central government recognizes no limits on its authority."

An important Southern separatist movement has appeared, yet oddly there remains little debate in Southern State capitols or in Washington. The discussion focuses on the federal-state balance of power and not on the constitutionality of current federal power. A Southern nationalism movement headed by respected Southern intellectuals emerged in June 1994 with the formation of The League of the South, a fast growing organization with thousands of members, and chapters currently being formed in the South, and beyond. What feeble attempts have been made to return functions back to the states, as in last year's welfare reform, are done solely for expediency, under federal control. All powerful Washington could take those functions back at any time.

The devolution of power being seriously discussed and even implemented in many Western countries has often been fostered by a separatist movement. Perhaps it will take serious discussion of Southern political independence to shake the Southern establishment loose from its infatuation with preserving current economic prosperity at all costs, including the loss of control over one's political, cultural, and economic affairs. In point of fact it is hard to see how devolution of power to the states or to an independent Southern nation would weaken economic prosperity. Harry Schultz believes the process of nation-building itself would boost the economy, and many believe that smaller governmental units with closer to home concerns would prove a boon to local prosperity.



The South As Nation

Contrary to what United States' propaganda teaches, the South is a nation. The power, influence and ubiquitousness of the modern nation-state leads many to think of a nation solely in terms of a politically independent entity. However, the word "nation" also means a people with common attributes, even without the existence of a political state of their own. The *American Heritage College Dictionary*, 1997 edition, gives as a definition of nation: "A people who share common customs, origins, history and frequently a language, a nationality." The root meaning of "nation" reveals why a nation is fundamentally a people, and why we speak of "nation-states" and not just "nations." *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (1966) traces the origin of the word "nation" to the Latin *natio(n-)*, meaning "breed, race, stock," which is formed from *nat-*, the past participle stem of *nasci*, to be born. Thus blood, kin, family past, tradition, and the culture accompanying them are all bound up in what it means to be a nation. Once Southerners understand that they are a classic nation by the core meaning of the word, they would recreant not to seek the preservation of their own unique culture and society.

The South is not only a nation, it is one of the largest and most important nations on earth. It will likely surprise most Southerners, and Americans in

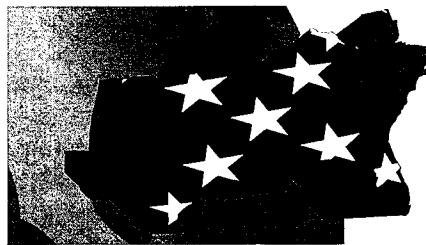
general, to learn that if the 11 states of the historic Confederate States of America were a politically independent nation, the new nation-state would have the fourth largest gross domestic product on earth, at over \$1.5 trillion, close behind the united Germany, which in turn would follow Japan and the rest of the United States. In population, a Southern nation-state of the former Confederate States, with 76 million people (1994), would be the 13th most populous on earth, again close behind Germany (81 million), and with considerably more people than France (58 million) or the United Kingdom (also 58 million). The American South as a nation-state would take its place among world powers.

But much more important than sheer power are the policies which an independent Southern nation would pursue. Again, most people are unaware of how profoundly the South has been pulled leftward from its moorings by its association with the rest of the United States. The 1996 Presidential election provides a dramatic example of how much more conservative the South is than the rest of America. In fact, for the second Presidential election in a row, the modern political South of the 11 former Confederate States plus Kentucky and Oklahoma voted for the perceived more conservative candidate, the Republican nominee, against the winning Southern ticket of Clinton of Arkansas and Gore of Tennessee, candidates of the Democratic Party, perceived to be more liberal.

Other facts make the 1996 Republican victory in the South even more impressive. Dole, the non-Southern Republican nominee, was battling an incumbent President who represented the traditional party of the South, who talked like a Southerner and who displayed a folksy Southern manner. The media portrayal of Clinton and the Democrats as moderates was also a

significant factor. They spoke moderate Democratic rhetoric and had a few good moves, such as welfare reform, to lend credence to the claim. The high black percentage of the Southern population which overwhelmingly supports Democratic candidates, makes Republican victories in Southern states all the more extraordinary.

Many Southerners, however, are coming to the conclusion that the national Republican Party, in spite of its rhetoric, is little better in a fundamental sense than the national Democratic Party. This is because the Republican Party will not, in Samuel Francis's terms, defend the interests of the Middle American, and because it will not open an honest debate on federal-state power, much less strongly pursue increased local autonomy. This leaves Southerners at the mercy of a national will often fundamentally to the left of the Southern point of view.



North vs. South On The Issues

The truly telling divergence of Southern values from those of the conglomerate American nation-state, however, can be found in votes in the U. S. Congress since 1965 concerning a number of the most important issues facing Americans today. These votes demonstrate how much more reflective of the South's traditional conservative values a politically independent Southern nation would be. On a num-

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THE SOUTH AS NATION:

Gross Domestic Product

1	United States	\$5464795
2	Japan	\$2932088
	Census South	\$1751759
3	Germany	\$1641908
	CQ South	\$1558794
	11-State South	\$1435283
4	France	\$1192217
5	Italy	\$1094765
6	UK	\$979121
7	Russia	\$940390
8	Canada	\$566680
9	Spain	\$491761
10	Brazil	\$473697
11	China	\$369439
12	India	\$303282
13	Australia	\$296317
14	Netherlands	\$283552
15	Ukraine	\$247447
16	Mexico	\$244047
17	South Korea	\$244043
18	Sweden	\$227900
19	Switzerland	\$226022
20	Belgium	\$192303

ber of key policy issues, Southern U. S. Senators and Congressmen have voted differently from their non-Southern counterparts. This means that a politically independent nation composed of the South alone would have a different policy on these issues. These Southern votes are not the imaginative creation of a frustrated Southern conservative. They are the actual votes of the thirteen-state South as designated by the *Congressional Quarterly* (CQ), one of the most trusted sources of United States Congressional action. CQ defines the South as the 11 historic Confederate States plus Kentucky and Oklahoma. Politically, these 13 states best constitute the Southern States of the United States.

One issue, **immigration**, has the power to transform the South and the United States fundamentally and unalterably. *Time* magazine recognized this in a 1990 cover story article when it noted that the new immigration— which it called the “browning of America”—“will alter everything in society, from politics and education to industry, values and culture.”

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The South continues to be the only major region of the United States to oppose liberal immigration policy. The Immigration Act of 1986 (amnesty to illegal aliens) passed the House 238-

173. Southern representatives voted strongly against, 70-49. The most sweeping revision of immigration law since the ‘65 Act passed Congress by overwhelming margins in 1990, 89-8 in the Senate and 264-118 in the House. This law increased legal immigration by roughly 200,000 people annually, about a 40% increase, in spite of polls showing a majority of Americans opposed increased immigration. Southern House members voted against this immigration increase 60-54, going against the wishes of President Bush, who supported the measure on final passage. Last year, the South for the fourth time in modern history cast its vote in favor of a conservative immigration policy against the adopted measures of the United States. Representative Lamar Smith’s (R-Texas) immigration bill, which sought to reduce legal immigration, failed in March 1996 to win House approval by a 238-183 vote, while Southern House members voted in favor 79-54.



The Balanced Budget Amendment, said to be the centerpiece of the Republican Contract with America, in 1995 failed of passage once again— even in the first Republican-controlled Congress in forty years. The South has consistently voted for these amendments, which have been offered time and again, by the requisite two-thirds majority for constitutional amendments, and did so again in March 1995 by a Senate vote of 21-5.



The perennial issue of **school prayer** is one in which the South favors protective school prayer measures whereas the

United States as a whole has repeatedly upheld the federal judiciary’s ban on school prayer. For example, a constitutional amendment in 1971 protecting school prayer won overwhelming approval by Southern representatives in the U. S. House by a vote of 84-23, but failed to garner the constitutionally required two-thirds majority among all House members. Taking the states’ rights stand, Southern senators in 1985 voted 18-7 in favor of a provision to bar federal courts from hearing school prayer cases, whereas the full Senate voted for continued federal scrutiny by a vote of 62-36, with non-Southern senators opting for continued federal court control of school prayer by the overwhelming vote of 55-18. And in 1992 a resolution to express the sense of the Senate that the U. S. Supreme Court should reverse its earlier rulings prohibiting voluntary school prayer failed by a large majority in the full Senate but won the approval of 15 Southern senators, with only nine opposed.



Another highly emotional issue is **abortion**. A constitutional amendment in 1983 stating simply: “A right to an abortion is not secured by the Constitution,” and designed to overturn *Roe v. Wade* and return abortion decisions to the states, failed to garner even a majority in the Senate, though winning the approval of Southern senators by a vote of 18-7, more than enough to submit the amendment to the states for ratification.



Women in Combat

The South as a traditional society has always viewed itself as a protector of women. This chivalric policy was reaffirmed as late as 1991 in a vote to repeal the 1948 law prohibiting women from flying combat pilot missions. Senators overall voted over two to one to repeal the ban, but Southern senators voted 15-10 to retain the traditional view that women should not

be exposed to military action.



Welfare reform is popular, but Southerners would enact tougher measures than the United States as a whole.

In September 1995 the Senate rejected by a large 66-34 vote the House passed cap on welfare benefits to women who have additional children. Southern senators voted 16-10 for the cap.



Crime and gun control are hot button issues.

Southern House members voted 79-57 against the Brady Bill in 1993, which established a five-day waiting period for handgun purchases nationwide and provided for a national instant check of criminal records before a handgun may be sold. The full House passed the measure by a fairly substantial 238-189 vote. The following year, Congress approved an assault weapons ban, though Southern House members voted against the measure by a 2-1 margin. Southern representatives in the U. S. House also voted against the Omnibus Crime bill of 1994, 82-51. This law, among other provisions, incorporated the assault weapons ban, expanded the number of federal crimes, and overall, strongly increased the federal government's role in fighting crime.

In 1991 the U. S. House of Representatives defeated an effort to prohibit federal habeas corpus appeals in cases that had a "full and fair hearing at the state level." The South voted 77-47 in favor of this proposal, which was both a get-tough-

on-criminals policy and a States' Rights measure.



Though Southern representatives and senators now routinely give approval to **civil rights legislation**, they have

consistently maintained a strong stand against busing, and had their voices prevailed, strong anti-busing measures long ago would have triumphed. The U. S. Congress has never seen fit to clamp down on court ordered busing. A strong States' Rights proposal to bar federal courts from jurisdiction to hear cases involving public schools failed miserably in 1976 in the Senate by a 62-29 vote, but received an overwhelming 19-6 approval by Southern senators. (The vote against this measure outside the South was 56-10). A 1980 attempt to bar the Justice Department from spending funds to require busing actually passed the full Senate 49-42, but no attempt was made to override President Carter's veto. Southern senators gave this measure a whopping 5-1 margin of approval (20-4), many more votes than the two-thirds necessary to override a presidential veto.



In **economic and fiscal policy** the failure of even the new Republican controlled-Congress to pass a balanced budget constitutional amendment has already been mentioned. An attempt to end debate on the line item veto proposal failed 58-40 in 1985 (a three-fifths vote is required for cloture). Southern Senators mustered the cloture thresh-

old by a 16-9 vote. The Penny-Kasich spending reduction package failed to pass the House in 1993, though Southern representatives gave it their approval. The Clinton deficit reduction package of 1993, which included a tax increase and spending cuts, passed muster in the full House but failed to win the Southern vote.



Due to the enormous power the U.S. Supreme Court has gathered unto itself, perhaps no single Senate vote has more

potential importance than the **confirmation of Supreme Court justices**. Two Southern conservative judges, Haynsworth and Carswell, failed to win U. S. Senate confirmation to the Supreme Court in 1969 and 1970 respectively, largely because they were Southern conservatives, even though the usual obfuscating reasons were cited. Southern senators voted for each by overwhelming margin 22-4 in the case of Haynsworth and 20-6 for Carswell.

Liberals, disgusted with the power the two-thirds cloture rule gave conservatives, and in particular, Southern conservatives, pushed through the 1975 Senate rule change in the cloture requirement from two-thirds to three-fifths, making it easier to pass legislation over minority opposition. This rules change passed the Senate by an exceedingly ample 73-21. Southern senators cast 15 of the votes recorded against this measure, with nine in favor. Thus once again, contrary to popular belief and Northern propaganda, the South stood firm in its traditional role of protector of minority rights, against the national stampede for smoothing the route of bills through Congress. With the Republican Congressional victories of 1994 and 1996, Democratic liberals might well question the wisdom of the change.



In the arena of **foreign policy** and defense matters, some votes stand out. Even though Southern senators voted

If the South had been an independent nation for the past 30 years it would have had budgets more closely in balance, less governmental taxation, a tougher policy on crime and welfare, greater local control over schools, protected prayer in the schools, a more conservative Supreme Court, and an immigration policy that would not flood the country with Third World immigrants.

Though many refuse to admit it, the United States has become a vast centralized power, overwhelmingly dominated and controlled by a liberal-leftist intelligentsia who continually pull this country to the left, against the wishes of the Southern people.

by a narrow margin in favor of the Panama Canal Treaty (14-12), this vote fell far short of the two-thirds necessary to ratify a treaty, which passed the Senate narrowly by a 68-32 vote. And if the South had been in charge, the Nicaraguan Contras would have had a much easier time fighting the Communists, as Southern House members voted 86-44 in favor of Contra Aid. (Non-Southerners voted to cut off aid.).

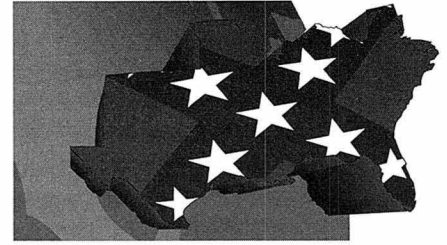
These 26 Congressional votes involving 16 social, economic, governmental, and foreign affairs policies make it abundantly clear what a major difference an independent Southern policy would make in our lives. The policy changes ushered in by the above Southern votes would produce a significantly different country more in keeping with the desires and lifestyles of a majority of Southerners. If the South had been an independent nation for the past 30 years it would have had budgets more closely in balance, less governmental taxation, a tougher policy on crime and welfare, greater local control over schools, protected prayer in the schools, a more conservative Supreme Court, and an immigration policy that would not flood the country with Third World immigrants.

The selective account of Congressional votes only serves as an indicator of the policy differences that exist between current Southern and national majorities. Other votes

could have been included. The greater part of the legislative process is conducted before a bill ever reaches a vote by the full House or Senate. Bills are written, rewritten, and adjustments and compromises made long before they reach a final vote. In all of these stages the Southern conservative voice would be dominant if the South were in charge of its own destiny. Some of the Congressional votes cited would produce manifold consequences, as can perhaps most easily be seen in the approval of Supreme Court justices.

Furthermore, an independent Southern nation, freed of the need to compromise with more liberal policies emanating elsewhere in the United States, freed of the overbearing dominance of the federal government and loosened from the influence of liberal and leftist thinkers in other regions, in particular the Northeast, would be considerably bolder and more genuine in its conservative proclivities. To most Southerners, an independent Southern nation would be bliss compared to the liberal, leftist policies and schemes for societal reconstruction—almost all alien to the Southern world view—which flow out of Washington and Northern think tanks and universities in a never-ending stream of radical, reconstructionist agendas. These agendas authored by outsiders are designed to turn the South into the utopian world

bureaucrats and intellectuals desire without basis in the social reality of the South, and without concern for the views of the South, its culture, history, and traditions.



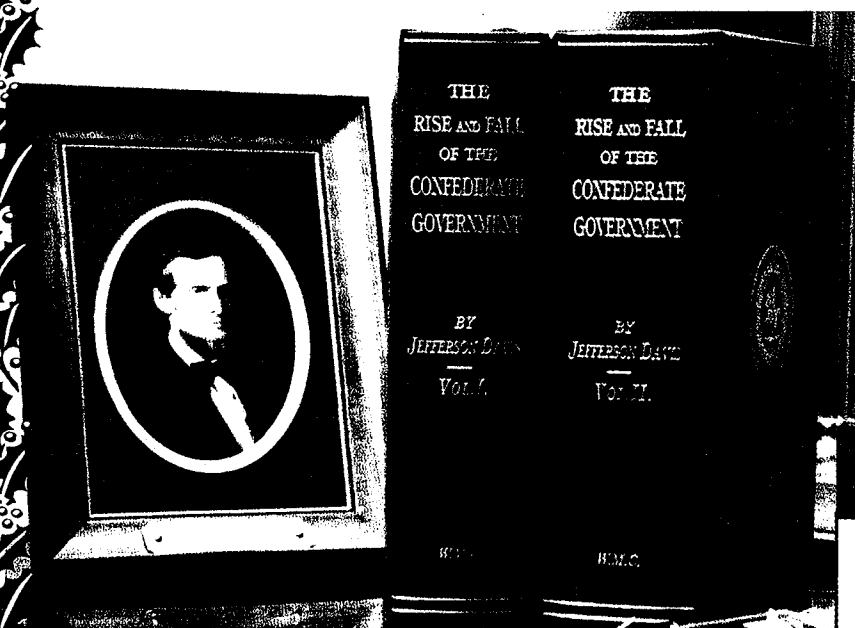
Conclusion

The question we face is simply this. Shall Southerners have charge of their own destiny, preserving for the future their culture and their values, or shall we continue to be molded to alien ideas, until at last the South has ceased to be a recognizable entity? Though many refuse to admit it, the United States has become a vast centralized power, overwhelmingly dominated and controlled by a liberal-leftist intelligentsia who continually pull this country to the left, against the wishes of the Southern people. The best hope, perhaps the *only* hope, for the South lies in an independent Southern nation, where we can at last be free to pursue the life we desire. If we were an independent nation again, we would be making our own unique contribution to civilization, benefitting mankind at large and preserving our own unique culture. If the South only believed in itself again, it could rise to true greatness not measured by material wealth alone, but more importantly, by the things of the spirit. Let it not be said of us that we allowed the South we love to perish. ☪

William Lamar Cawthon, Jr. lives in Athens, Georgia where he is active in the League of the South. Mr. Cawthon's views and conclusions are his own, and do not necessarily reflect those of the publisher and editors of *Southern Partisan*.

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Rebels All!!



Ole Miss students celebrate their Rebel heritage at a recent football game.

AP/Wide World

A Brief Essay in Support of the Ole Miss Rebels

BY WILLIAM SHOFNER

I come in praise of Ole Miss Rebels.

First, last, always: Remember, America was founded on rebellion. Before we were Americans, we were Rebels first.

When 13 colonies united in 1776 against England, they united in rebellion against the mother country. Our greatest leaders in this struggle were all Rebels. George Washington, the father of our country: Rebel. Thomas Jefferson, the writer of our Declaration of Independence: Rebel! James Madison, the author of our Constitution: Rebel!! Patrick Henry, who raised the immortal cry, "Give me Liberty or give me Death": Rebel!!!

Rebels all!

For what did so many men in 1776 pledge their lives, their fortunes and

their sacred honor? For Liberty.

How did they secure that Liberty

Listen to our Declaration of Independence:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to

them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Here, we Americans declared that any people anywhere have the unalienable right to rebel against their government when it becomes destructive to life, liberty or the pursuit of happiness and to institute a new government that they think will be more likely to assure them safety and happiness.

Because of Rebels years ago, Americans have liberty today.

But wait. That was 1776. What about the Rebels at Ole Miss today? Don't they represent only the Rebels of 1861? Maybe. Still, there is no material difference between the Rebels of 1776 and those of 1861. In fact, the greatest observer of the United States, Alexis de Tocqueville (1805 - 1859), wrote in his masterpiece *Democracy in America* as follows: "If the Union attempted to enforce by arms the allegiance of the

confederated states, it would be in very much the same position as that of England in the War of Independence."

Even Abraham Lincoln on the hallowed floor of Congress in 1848 recognized the unalienable right of rebellion when he said:

Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people, that can, may revolutionize, and make their own of so much of the territory as they inhabit.

Alright, already; you may now agree with me that Americans do indeed have the unalienable right of rebellion and independence. But, you ask, aren't the Ole Miss Rebels more than just plain ole Rebels? Don't they also represent Southern slaveholders? Maybe, but it is doubtful, because less than 5% of all white Southerners owned slaves in 1861. But if the Ole Miss Rebels also represent slaveholders, must we condemn all things touched by slavery?

In 1776, our greatest Rebels—Washington, Madison, Jefferson and Henry—were also Southern slaveholders. If all things stained by slavery must now be destroyed or forgotten, we now must rid ourselves of not just the Ole Miss mascot but Washington, Jefferson and Madison. And we cannot stop here. Logic demands the destruction of the U.S. Constitution and the Declaration of Independence — both documents written by Southern slaveholders and once used to protect slavery.

It seems prudent that all of us should pause and think before we ravage Southern slaveholders. As the great antebellum historian Eugene Genovese recently noted: "Southern slaveholders... however great their crimes against black people, mounted the first and only serious [American] critique of the totalitarian tendencies

that have run wild in our century. [It was] slaveholders [who] laid the foundation for a constitutional and democratic republic."

And as the preservation of slavery was not the reason for our rebellion in 1776, it was not the goal for which we struggled in 1861. Our goal in 1861, as it was in 1776, was independence, freedom and self-government.

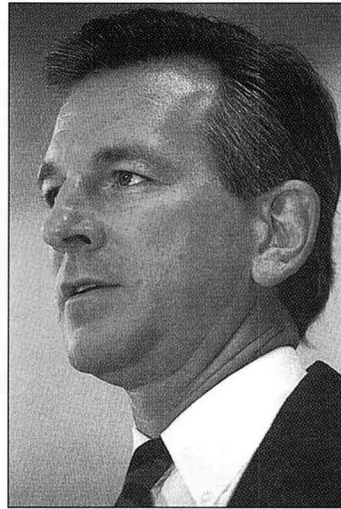
Lord Acton (1834-1902) was probably the greatest defender and chronicler of liberty. He is today remembered primarily for the only maxim anyone needs to know about politics: "Power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely." He was, also, an astute critic of the American Civil War and, not surprisingly, a supporter of the South's War for Independence. He said:

The one ruling element in the American [Civil] war, which reduces all others to comparative insignificance, is the defence of the rights of self-government against the theory that there is a supreme, irresistible and irresponsible power [i.e., an indissoluble Union dictated by majority rule].

Lord Acton saw that by exercising the unalienable right of rebellion, Southerners were preserving their right of self-government and were fighting against an unchecked and absolute sovereign embodied by an omnipotent federal government. Acton called upon his fellow Englishmen to recognize and support this right of rebellion.

After the South's defeat in its War for Independence, Lord Acton wrote the greatest Rebel of all, General Robert E. Lee. In that letter, Acton said:

I saw in State Rights the only availing check upon the absolutism of the sovereign will [of the majority], and secession filled me with hope, not as the destruction but as the redemption of Democracy... Therefore, I deemed that you were fighting the battles



The politically correct Mississippi football coach Tommy Tuberville is no Rebel

of our liberty, our progress and our civilization; and I mourn for the stake which was lost at Richmond more deeply than I rejoice over that which was saved at Waterloo.

As our ancestors rebelled against their government in 1776, our ancestors rebelled against their government in 1861. In so acting, all of these Americans were merely exercising their right to alter or abolish their government.

But, you ask, what do Rebels of 1776 and Rebels of 1861 have to do with, say, black Americans today? Everything.

The most recent vintage of great American Rebels were those fearless freedom fighters who led the struggle for civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s. As our American Rebels of 1776 and 1861 fought to alter or abolish their government because it had become, in their opinion, destructive of their unalienable rights, our American Rebels of the 1950s and 1960s fought to alter government because it was destructive of their unalienable rights. The men and women of the civil rights movement were just exercising that grand old American right: the right of rebellion.

So let us rejoice today, along with Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, Tocqueville, Lord Acton, and millions and millions of men and women, great and small, by celebrating—Rebels. Because there once were Rebels, we are free today. And as long as we remember that we still hold the unalienable right to rebel and to assert our right of independence and self-government, we will stay free forever.

Long live Rebels!

Long live the Ole Miss Rebels!

Wave a Rebel flag! ☘

William Shofner hails from Nashville, Tennessee and is a new Southern Partisan contributor.

DEATH OF A Princess

H.W. CROCKER, III

Southerners are by nature traditionalists who believe in family and country, in hierarchy and God. As such, Southrons are natural constitutional monarchists. It is in that spirit that we offer this dispatch from our Anglo-American correspondent H. W. Crocker III who relates a tragic tale, not just of British monarchy, but with overtones for every Southerner who's heard tell of the beautiful country girl who moves to the big city, falls in the clutches of a well-heeled Yankee—or in this case, hereditary Egyptian—with a chauffeur who is a bit too fond of the whisky jug...

If one were writing a novel, this is how it should end: the beautiful princess, adored by the world, with two handsome sons, divorced from a loveless marriage with an apparently cold, dull prince, finally finds love with a rich, gentle outsider, a foreigner; and then, pursued by the tabloid jackals, a high-speed crash, killing her lover instantly—the paparazi snapping gruesome photos to the last—and the princess succumbing to her injuries, dead at 36.

It is a horrible story, all the worse for being true—especially for her sons who must now grow up without their mother who was for them, and who undoubtedly will always be, what Winston Churchill's mother was for him, "a fairy princess: a radiant being possessed of limitless riches and power."

Certainly much of the rest of the world thought of her in such terms. She took the pejorative use from the word "do-gooder," even if she did seem to be a trifle self-absorbed about her crusades. Had Princess Diana actually con-



A letter to Diana along the fence at Westminster Abbey.

verted to Catholicism—as it was one time rumored she might do, and as her mother did—she could conceivably, over a period of decades, have had a chance at becoming a saint.

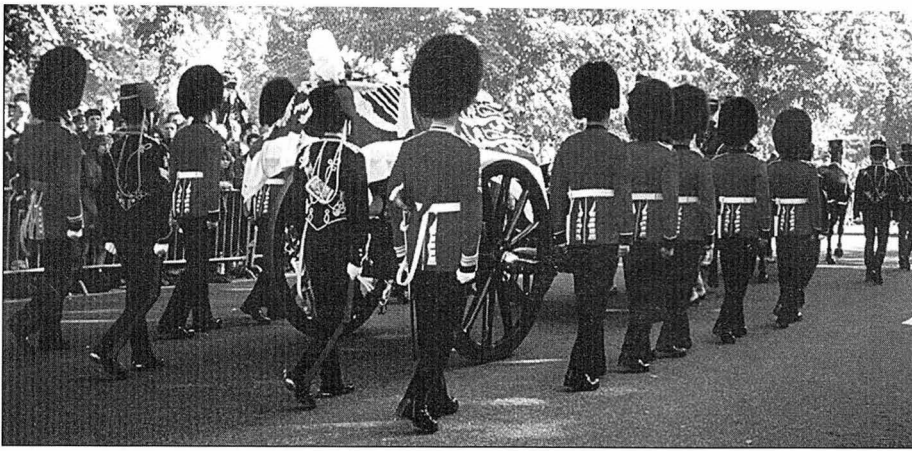
To some, she already has become a sort of secular saint and I wouldn't be surprised if among those venerating her memory are the more Machiavellian supporters of the Windsors, nodding over their port and cigars. "Damned shame," one can hear them growling, before adding on a brighter note, "Still, best thing that could have happened for the Windsors. Saved the monarchy, poor thing."

Heartless? Cruel? Not really.

For what was the likely course of events that was awaiting the players in this drama? Princess Diana was in fact the greatest threat facing the survival of the monarchy in Britain. Had she mar-

ried Dodi Fayed, the mother of the future king of England would have as a father-in-law a billionaire Egyptian schemer (a carpetbagger, in other words) who has confessedly bribed members of parliament, sought to bring down a British government, and videotaped private conversations (for possible future blackmail?). He also carries a background sufficiently suspicious to have been denied British citizenship, despite his ownership of Harrods and the revived *Punch*, among much else. What a prize Princess Diana must have been for him. A daughter-in-law whose son would be king. What great revenge on the country whose ruling powers have judged him questionable and unsavory.

Revenge may have been on Princess Diana's mind as well. She hinted as much just before the Fayed affair



Robert Michael Givens

Diana's coffin proceeds down South Carriage Drive toward Westminster Abbey.

became known, when she told the tabloids that something big was about to happen. That something presumably being her incipient engagement to an Arab playboy with a reported cocaine habit and known chiefly for his refusal to pay his bills to creditors much less wealthy than himself.

Caught in the middle of all this—her children. How would they sift their conflicting loyalties between their father, Prince Charles, their mother, their duty to the crown and country, and their new step-father and step-grandfather, the shadowy Fayed?

Even the most besotted of Dianaites—and I supposed that I am among them—must concede that our heroine was not without her flaws and that her former husband has been treated more than a little unfairly by public opinion. Yes, he may have been chilly and aloof, and devoted, illicitly, to another (married) woman. But Diana was not a mere innocent. She knew she had the star-power to upstage her husband and had few compunctions about doing so when it suited her. It does appear she was more than a trifle neurotic. So much so that the press was beginning to notice—and to bite. For example, *The Spectator* of 23 August 1997 noted in its review of the week's news that "Diana, Princess of Wales consulted a clairvoyant; she hoped to make her visit unobtrusive by landing in a helicopter with Mr. Dodi Fayed, a friend, in the middle of a Derbyshire village, but she was noticed by a little girl with a camera whom she told: "Go away." She then went off on her third sea-cruise of the month. So much for "the people's princess."

Diana was also, during her marriage, notoriously, stubbornly uninter-

ested in her husband's well-founded intellectual, aesthetic, sporting (Southerners should appreciate that he is a horseman and a hunter), and charitable pursuits, including The Princes' Trust, a sort of workfare for young people to help them set up their own businesses—an institution that has undoubtedly done more real good than the Princess' more trendy concerns.

And if the Princess of Wales was hounded to death by the gutter press, it is also true that they were not only her bane, but her servants. She consciously used her press contacts to blacken the reputation of her husband and to launch, in essence, a public relations war against the Windsors—a campaign continued by the shockingly praised and contemptuously ill-mannered speech of her brother, Earl Spencer, at the Princess's funeral, where he managed to attack not only the press, but the Queen and the father of the Princess's children. One must note, with regret that the Spencer family's own turmoil leaves them ill-placed to throw stones at the Windsors.

The worst and most damning criticism of Prince Charles is that in the *one* crucial thing, his marriage, his sense of duty failed him. By all appearances he is a gifted and right-minded Prince, with a Southerner's instinct for the importance of tradition and, let it be remembered, for the importance of military service to one's country.

However difficult it was to live with the Princess of Wales—and one says this knowing the peril of judging personal circumstances, and with a Southerner's understanding that this is a truly fallen world—he should have managed. It was worth immense personal unhappiness to make it work. One

thinks of Lee, or Evelyn Waugh's Guy Crouchback, and one knows that one must hang on, regardless of the cost, to do what's right.

It is Prince Charles's duty now to devote himself to his sons, to groom Britain's future king.

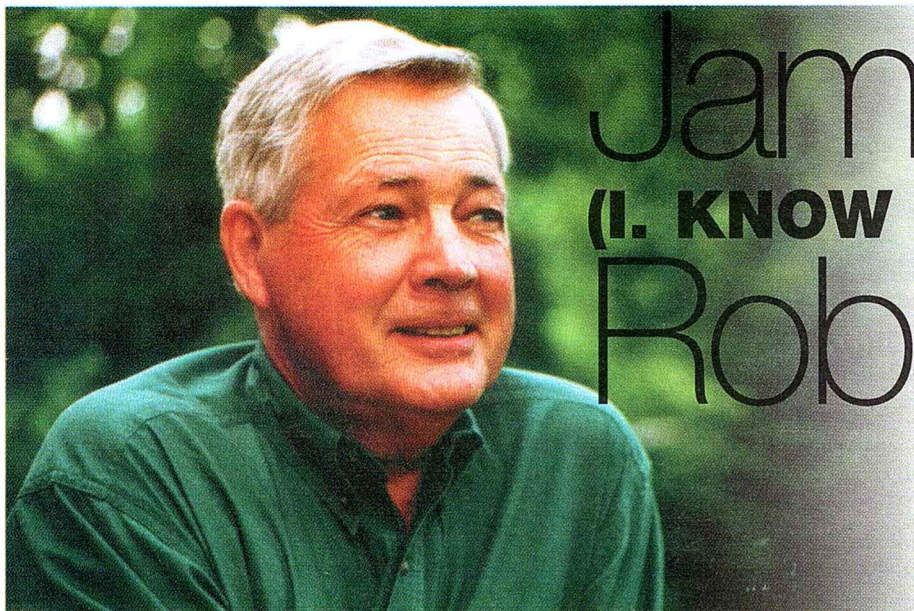
Of the many legacies that might spring from the princess's death, the most important might be the one that was unsought. As the world offers its sympathy to a bereaved Prince Charles and the heirs to the throne, Prince William and Prince Harry, there lies a hope for restoration.

And restoration is important. *Pace* George Will, monarchy is not a form of "infantilism." That he thinks so is only another sign that he's lived within the Beltway too long. For the truly infantile are those wonks whose own lives are so empty of meaning that they think that *policy* will unite the nation, cure every ill, and is, indeed, the measure of all things.

What liberal rubbish. Show me a *soi-disant* conservative who disdains monarchy, and I'll show you a conservative who wants to pave Southern battlefields (though to be fair George Will does not). Monarchy is important because it embodies the nation and elevates the imagination and the spirit in a way no politician—save perhaps for the truly exalted like a Churchill—ever can. It is the tangible link between the living, the dead, and the not yet born, a symbol of permanence and a nation's history. For a Southerner, monarchy is like our Confederate monuments—a visible emblem of the conservatism of the heart. That's what makes it so valuable.

Prince Charles's marriage was a triumph—a high watermark for the monarchy—that ended in disaster. The death of Princess Diana offered him a second chance to do his duty. He cannot—and I believe he will not—fail again. For as Mark Steyn wrote in *National Review*, Diana is no longer a "loose cannon," but "a fixed cannon now—forever young, forever tragic, forever beautiful—and she's firmly targeted on Buckingham Palace." ★

Harry W. Crocker, III was allegedly known in the fifteenth century as Henry V.



James (I. KNOW STONEWALL) Robertson

James I. "Bud" Robertson is a renowned historian and the is the leading authority of the life of Confederate Lieutenant General Thomas J. Jackson. Macmillan publishers has just released Dr. Robertson's latest book entitled Stonewall Jackson: The Man, the Soldier, the Legend which has received rave reviews. In addition to a very busy schedule of book-signings and speaking engagements, Dr. Robertson is also an NCAA football referee.

Dr. Robertson was born in Danville, Virginia, the last capital of the Confederacy. He received his undergraduate education at Randolph-Macon College and studied under the eminent historian Professor Bell Wiley at Emory University, where he received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees. He is Alumni Distinguished Professor at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (VPI) in Blacksburg, where he has hung his kepi for the past 31 years. He has three married children and four grandchildren, the oldest of whom attends VPI.

Robertson's published works include everything from his doctoral dissertation turned book, *The Stonewall Brigade*, to the Pulitzer nominated *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, to a history of the War Between the

States for youngsters entitled *Civil War! America Becomes One Nation*. All have been bestsellers and have received numerous awards for excellence in writing and research.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: How's the Stonewall book doing?

ROBERTSON: Very well. It's in the fourth printing now, and my schedule is booked though May of next year.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: Wow. That's outstanding. How many copies would that represent?

ROBERTSON: Thirty-five thousand. And that doesn't include what the two book clubs bought. It's just a forty-dollar history book—it's unreal.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: Having worked on Stonewall Jackson for your doctoral dissertation, you've been tied in with Stonewall for much of your academic life.

ROBERTSON: My first term paper in school was in the fifth grade, and incredibly enough the subject was Stonewall Jackson. I've just had this lifelong fascination with him, as many people do and, it's kind of difficult to explain, because he wasn't an outgoing, vivacious person like an A.P. Hill or Dwight Eisenhower,

or someone like that. He was a very introspective, very reticent, very taciturn and you might say, humorless. But I think it is the unapproachability of the man that attracts us to him in great part.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: Jackson's religion seems to have been overlooked as the central organizing principle of his life...

ROBERTSON: This amazed me, because it's the underpinning of his life. After 1851 it's impossible to think of any action he takes or any thought he has, which is not related to God in some way. His faith became overpowering. He saw the war in great part to be a scourge of God on America for reasons man could not see. God had placed a curse on the land, and the two sides had to fight it out. And that side which displayed the most faith would be the side that would ultimately triumph. So in Jackson's mind, he goes off to wage this great religious crusade. He's fighting for God, as he said over and over again in letters to his wife Anna, "I want my army to be an army of the living God." You don't hear anyone else of high rank in the Civil War say this.

You can explain so much of his actions and his thinking by this overwhelming faith in God. I think he viewed the enemy not simply as Northerners. I think he saw them as Philistines, as Amalekites, to be slain as Joshua and Gideon would

have done in their own day. This powerful faith in God manifested itself in two ways: one, he will fight with Old Testament fury, because, two, he is seeking the New Testament faith, the faith of love that comes forward through the New Testament (as opposed to sternness and punitive measures that exist in the Old Testament). Jackson sees God as sort of a two-headed being. And I don't see an inconsistency at all in that. On the one hand, you can explain Jackson's civility in battle by the Old Testament viewpoint. On the other hand, his overwhelming, abiding love for his children shines forth in the loving God of the New Testament.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: This may be too much of a *Southern Partisan* type question, but is there anybody else on the Northern side maybe that is even comparable to Jackson and his view of religion?

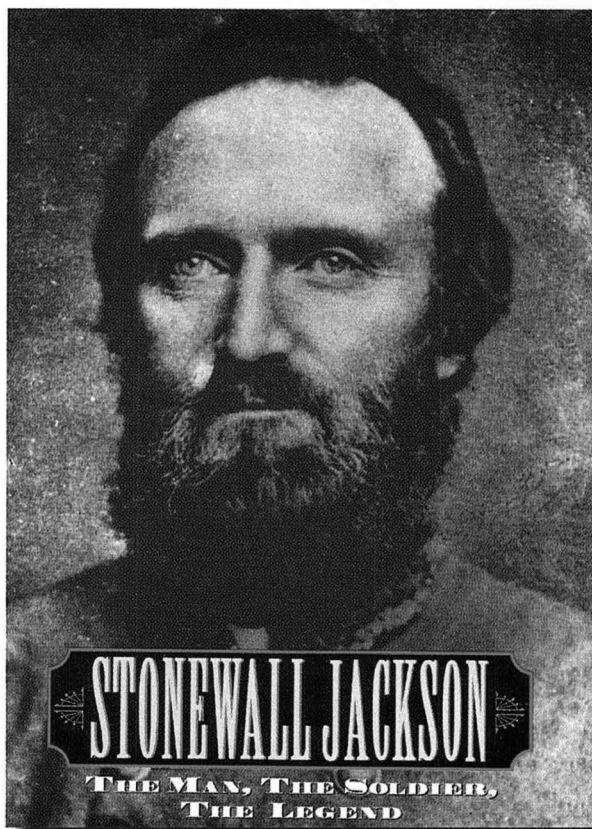
ROBERTSON: No. I don't know of anyone comparable in the Civil War—with the possible exception of General Lee—who can approach his faith. I'm not implying that none of the other generals had any kind of faith, but I'm talking about *intensity* of belief. Jackson's official reports begin and end with praise to God, which makes them stand all by themselves. When all is said and done Stonewall Jackson epitomizes the Christian soldier better than any American who has ever lived.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: What was Jackson's family background?

ROBERTSON: His father died when he was two, and his father left a good deal to be desired. His father was a gambler, a womanizer, and a ne'er-do-well who had gone through his share of the great Jackson fortune.

Jackson's father and older sister both succumbed to typhoid fever.

When Jackson was six, his mother gave him away. She had these children, she was marrying again, and the second husband did not have the means to support the whole family, so his mother gave him away



to an uncle: Uncle Cummings Jackson. People have always said Cummings was so solicitous, so caring, so tutorial. He wasn't. The man was uncaring and certainly unloving. He was a bachelor uncle who taught Jackson how to do things on the farm, and he gave Jackson a place to live. I think he gave the boy security. But he never gave him the familial love that is so absolutely basic to any human being. And it had a direct and adverse effect on Jackson.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: So Jackson's family had money at some point?

ROBERTSON: Yes. His grandfather was the dominant figure in that area of northwestern Virginia, and the grandfather had a large family. When he died, his estate was divided among all the children. Some of them increased their holdings.

Others, like Jonathan Jackson, Thomas Jackson's father, just went through it like a dose of castor oil. And by the time Jackson was born, the father was on very hard times.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: We also hear a lot about the concept of Jackson being Lee's right hand, and that when Jackson died, the Confederacy died with him. Do you find this to be borne out by the facts?

ROBERTSON: Yes, I do. I think Jackson gave to Lee the one ingredient Lee had to have to survive against the overwhelmingly large Army of the Potomac, *mobility*. As long as he's got Jackson, he's got a man who can execute tremendously successful flank marches. He can suddenly swoop down on the unsuspecting side of the enemy, break through, and achieve great victories through all this confusion that he created.

This mobility was swinging around, jabbing and poking here and there in sudden assaults, keeping the Union Army of the Potomac

off balance. Once Jackson is gone, Lee has nobody who possesses that mobility. He has nobody who can accomplish those fakes and jabs and the circling around, and this forces Lee to engage in a slug-ging match with the much-larger Union Army. It's a slug-ging match that Lee simply cannot win. The road to Appomattox may well have started in the Virginia wilderness on May 2, 1863.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: Jackson seems to be, from his background, out of place until he's given a position in the Confederate Army. What in his background built him into a great leader?

ROBERTSON: I think the seeds of a great leader were planted in him and lay dormant. It's hard to say where genius originates. I'm not sure you develop it in the growing



process, but Jackson had those attributes of military genius inside of him, and as you say, it took more than half of his life for them to appear. The brilliance that is Jackson emerges only in the last two years of his life. Up until then, his life was hardly anything to get excited about. He was an unwanted, unloved orphan boy, who grew up without affection. This molded the personality that he had—the reticence, the shyness, the uncomfortableness around strangers, the distrust of people, and the fact that he would shower his wives and children with love. It was because of all the pent-up love in him that he had never been able to give himself. All of these things mold the man.

But then, other than outstanding service in the Mexican War, his life was pretty drab. He was a typical college professor—not a very good one, to say the least. Full of odd ways and whatnot, because no one had ever taught him the basic graces of life—how you do things, the fundamentals of courtesy, civility, association in company, etc. So he had to learn a lot of things the hard way through trial and error. The first impressions people got of him were largely negative. Once the war starts, suddenly the genius that was deep inside this man springs

forth, and frankly, I find that the oddities that he had were one of the great attractions that come to him during the war. Men will cheer him because they know that he is embarrassed by cheers, and even Little Sorrel eventually picks it up, so that whenever Confederate soldiers raised cheers and shouts, Little Sorrel would begin galloping away without even being nudged by Jackson, and all Jackson would do is take off his hat to acknowledge the cheers, and off into the distance horse and rider went. This is the kind of thing that nurtures adoration, a total lack of pomposity and no pretentiousness whatsoever. That's why his men loved him.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: You mentioned the Mexican War. It is often overlooked as a skirmish or a scrimmage, you might say, before the big game. What was Jackson's experience in the Mexican War?

ROBERTSON: He emerges from the Mexican War as one of its most decorated soldiers. In June 1846 he's a brevet lieutenant, brand new out of West Point. By the fall of the next year, he's a brevet major, he's far exceeded the accomplishments of anyone else in that famous class of 1846.

It think it's in the Mexican War he finds a number of things. One, he finds that the military really is his niche. According to family therapists, this is typical of an orphan. He found that the regimentation, the orderliness, the devotion to duty, the following of orders, the organized life, suited him to a tee.

In the Mexican War he finds out how much he truly loves artillery, and this is often overlooked by Civil War historians. Jackson was an artillerist, first, last and always. During the ten years he was at VMI, he

taught artillery. General William Gilliam taught the cadets infantry tactics. And this is why Dennis Frye and I agree so much that the September 18, 1862 envelopment of Harper's Ferry was probably one of Jackson's greatest victories. The way he set up those guns was an absolutely brilliant display of artillery genius, and on the morning of September 15, he just started blowing that Union garrison away systematically. The garrison struck the colors after only about a half-hour. He's a great commander, and you see this in his official records and reports. He's always talking about how many guns he took, or how many guns he disabled. Most generals don't fool with that, but Jackson did.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: I knew he'd taught artillery, but I never realized he was that much of an aficionado, as it were.

ROBERTSON: Yes, he was. Indeed, it was Jackson who helped push the parrot gun. He got one of the early parrot guns, experimented with it at VMI, and then urged officials to order them *en mass*. He thought



The Jackson Family

this was a revolutionary weapon, long before it became one.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: What about the circumstances surrounding Jackson's death? Have you been able to uncover any new information there?

ROBERTSON: I don't think I've uncovered anything startling. I think most serious students of the war know that it was the volley from the Eighteenth North Carolina that did him in. Those men were part of James H. Lane's Brigade. No one ever accused Jim Lane of anything but being an extraordinarily courageous soldier. Indeed, Lane had been one of Jackson's students at VMI, and Lane was simply carrying out orders he had received to be on the alert for enemy cavalry, wandering Westward through the woods of the wilderness.

Jackson and his party were coming back from reconnoitering. They were moving westward through the woods. The Eighteenth North Carolina heard the horsemen, saw the shadows, knew their orders, and opened fire. To have done less would have been dereliction of duty, and Jackson would have been the first to condemn them.

An interesting thing relative to the Eighteenth North Carolina. Its commander at the time was a young man named John D. Barry. He was so overcome with remorse at what had happened that he died a couple of years after the Civil War (1867 or 1868) and family legend has it he died of a broken heart from "the mistake" his men made. It was no mistake at all. They carried out orders as Jackson would have wished them to.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: Was Jackson in the habit of these reconnoiter operations?

ROBERTSON: No, he was not. I think this is one of the few times he ever rode personally forward to reconnoiter. The whole incident that night was strange, if not eerie. Jackson's massing for a night attack

... you don't do night attacks in the Civil War, but he felt that God was on the verge of granting salvation and victory to the Southern cause.

Chancellorsville would right all the wrongs, all the setbacks that the South had suffered. Chancellorsville could be the great, brilliant victory, the Armageddon, if you will, that would bring the South its freedom and God's blessings, and Jackson was so eager to keep it going that he's trying to organize a night attack in the worst possible locale in the Commonwealth of Virginia: the



Stonewall's Last Battle



Virginia wilderness. So, everything he does is out of the ordinary. It was just a tragic situation.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: Knowing Jackson as well as you do, had he survived the war, what do you think he would have done?

ROBERTSON: He said in a letter (published for the first time in the book) what he wanted to do. He told his wife that once the war was over, he hoped to move to the lower (that is northern end) of the Shenandoah Valley, and become a gentleman farmer. He loved the Shenandoah. He loved the land, and he probably would not have gone back to VMI. He would have settled down to the life of a quiet farmer down around Winchester, which was a dear home for him.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: There have always been a lot of stories surrounding Jackson, especially some

of his quirks and oddities. Of course, the famous story about him always sucking lemons and that sort of thing.

ROBERTSON: I've spent an inordinate amount of time dispelling these myths that circulate, but the lemon myth just will not die. At this moment in the Stonewall Jackson Cemetery in Lexington, Virginia, there are probably four or more lemons lying on the grave of Stonewall Jackson, which is, I guess, a form of tribute. I think the general would scratch his head in absolute bewilderment to see it, because Jackson had no great fondness for lemons, simply because he had little opportunity to get them. I've been through the Shenandoah Valley four hundred times. I've never seen a lemon orchard there. It's just one of those myths that began, largely through the writings of two men, John Easton Cook, who was a novelist, and General Richard Taylor, who never let facts stand in the way of a good story when he wrote. That is the myth, and it just simply will not go away. In truth, Jackson's favorite fruit was probably peaches, followed closely by apples and all the other things—cantaloupe, watermelons, grape—but he was very, very fond of peaches.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: Are there any more myths that you have been able to dispel?

ROBERTSON: Oh, one of the myths has to do with this thrusting his arm skyward. People were saying he was having epileptic seizures, or this was just another quirk. Basically, and more often than not, that was a nineteenth-century motion of praying. If you were praying in public, you normally either crossed your arms over your breast or you raised an arm skyward.



The Jackson Memorial Window

Today on the campus of the University of Notre Dame, there's a monument to Chaplain Corby, the Catholic chaplain in the Union Armies, and he stands near the stadium with his right arm struck straight up in the air. Students for years have called him Touchback Corby, because he looks like a football official about to wave a touchback. He was not. He was imploring God's blessings. And so a lot of times when Jackson raised that arm, people said he was having some kind of spell when in fact he was praying.

One of the biggest myths, of course, is the one concerning his consolidating the schedule of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad early in

the war, constricting the time schedules when the trains could run past Harper's Ferry, where Jackson commanded the Confederate garrison.

And according to the myth, he constricted the schedule until he had trains bumper to bumper on both tracks all piled up, and then in one great swoop one day he came down and, in essence, confiscated most of the rolling stock of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. This is a great story. In the two-volume history of the B&O, the story is told. The problem is, there's not one ounce of truth to it. There's no mention in the official records about it. There's no mention in any of the writings of anyone about it, but the story persists that Jackson just basically stripped the B&O of most of its rolling stock.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: How long did you spend writing this book?

ROBERTSON: Seven years. I started out with a normal, three year, 750-page manuscript contract, but once I got into the research I found that there was so much research that needed to be done, because no one had ever gone out and gone down every possible avenue of this search.

The men under whom I had the pleasure of studying when I was coming along out of graduate school, men like Bell Wiley and Alan Nevins and Bruce Catton and Richard Harwell, all taught me that you do vacuum cleaner research. You go down every possible avenue. You cannot start out with a preconceived notion of what you're going to do and then do only enough research to justify that idea you have. That's intellectually dishonest. You have to let your sources determine what you do. So when I started out, I simply sent form letters to every depository in America—libraries, historical societies, private individuals with collections—about

280 letters in all. As the footnotes show in the book, I rely very heavily on manuscript sources for over half the text. Way over half the text is based on unpublished, primary sources. And it was just amazing how many responded with material, and so whereas I had a contract that called for a three-year job of producing a book, I stayed in manuscripts for three years. I spent another two years in printed sources. So after five years of research, it took two years to write it, and the 750-page manuscript became 2,200 pages.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: This is probably the first biography of Jackson done by a professional historian in quite a long time.

ROBERTSON: In 40 years. Yes.

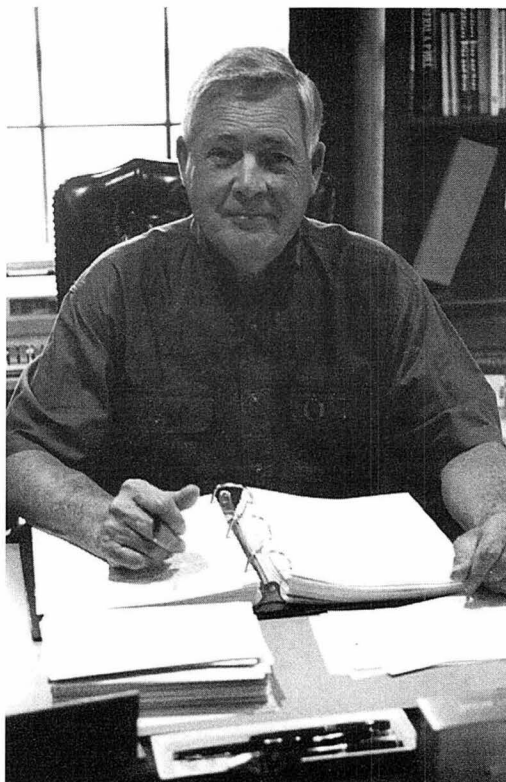
SOUTHERN PARTISAN: Who did the last one?

ROBERTSON: Frank E. Vandiver, back in the 1950s.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: The volume of sales of your book is just one aspect of the tremendous interest there is in America for this period in history. To what do you attribute that?

ROBERTSON: Oh, a lot of things. Of course, interest in the Civil War is almost out of control. It just sparks all kinds of feelings and interest and fascination.

I think the second thing that's probably caused this interest in Jackson is that today Americans hunger for heroes. We just don't have heroes. Some would say it's politically incorrect to look up to people. My rejoinder to that is, if you're walking and you keep looking at the ground, you'll never see the mountains. You'll remain lost all your life. I think we need heroes, and here is this man who really personifies the all-American success story, the little unwanted orphan boy who wouldn't quit, and in the face of one adversity after another, kept pushing ahead. He was the most famous soldier in the world



The Historian at Work

when he was mortally wounded in May 1863. From orphan to world esteemed general. It's a beautiful story, and I think it's something that people really are following with great fascination now.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: A big part of what the ordinary person knows about the War comes from the Ken Burns series "Civil War" which aired several years ago on PBS. Many people who are knowledgeable about the war were highly critical of that production...

ROBERTSON: I was one of them. The PBS series was very poor history. The production itself was well done from the artistic side in that it used a lot of nice photographs and the use of the letters from the common soldiers was good.

But, unfortunately, it was rife with errors. There were numerous errors of fact. And, of course, Ken Burns' statement that Lee was a mass-murderer and his calling Jackson a "Blue-eyed Killer" is appalling and very bad history. It is disastrous that for many people this is their main, if not only, source of knowledge about the war.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: In addition to your book, would it be possible for you to name two or three other books that you think would be a good core reading list of Southern history? If somebody wanted to get a good understanding of what the war was about?

ROBERTSON: I always start, of course, with the two books by my mentor, Bell Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, *The Life of Billy Yank*—this is what the war was all about. It's one thing for the generals to mouth great strategy and execute grand tactics, but the real fighting, when everything is boiled down to it, came with the common soldiers, and I think those two books are certainly what I would recommend.

Secondly, Dr. Douglas Freeman remains my guru. I think his biography of R.E. Lee remains the finest biography in the English language: it has a Winston Churchill quality. It's a model biography for any aspiring writer to follow.

I think Bruce Catton had a way with words that would spark anyone to try to emulate him in the field of writing. So there are just a lot of great names out there, wonderful historians of the past who have laid down the foundations for how we should read and how we should study the Civil War.

SOUTHERN PARTISAN: I appreciate your taking the time to talk to us.

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General Store (pg. 53)**

A Faithful, Southern Fisherman

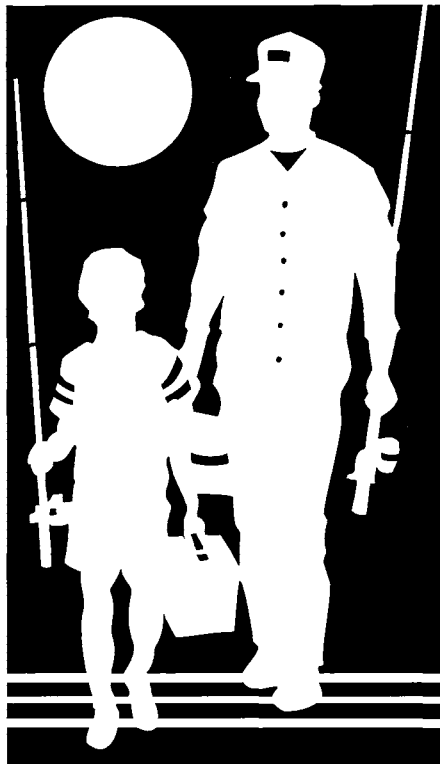
by Ted Roberts

I was a faithful, Southern fisherman even in New England exile. "Oh, these small mouth bass are fine," I'd tell them, "but when I was a kid back home in Tennessee," blah, blah, blah. "Heck, we'd have won that War if our boys weren't off fishing all the time." I told tales of smiling Southern bass jumping into the boat and when that was full, politely—without jostling—arranging themselves on the stringer.

I told no falsehoods. But thirty years between event and narration often changed history into docudrama; anorexic bream to bass, and adolescent pickerels into lunker pikes with pearly white daggers that would scare the bills off an orthodontist.

In those halcyon days my accomplice in the genocide of the Sunfish family was my pop, a better talker than a fisherman. He was Hans Christian Anderson with a fishing pole. So, who cared if the finny population of the lake fled when they heard our heavy footsteps on the pier. If the fish were sleepy or shy, there was always a classical tale to capture my fancy. Not 'til I reached the meditative age of 16 did I realize that a rowboat on a calm lake was only a prop for the ol' storyteller. Me and my old man; along with King Arthur, Lancelot, Sherlock Holmes, MacBeth and Hamlet crowded into an 8-foot rowboat.

That's the way it was back then, more drama than fish. But in my exile I bragged a lot about the fertile, Southern streams of my boyhood. Never mind that the New Hampshire bass were as acrobatic as the gulls that whirled and dived over the lake. Never mind that not a single bass swallowed his crayfish dinner without an air show and a final fly by as



he roared over our rowboat. Obviously, the bream and pickerel were watching these rituals because they didn't obediently swim up to the boat either. And even the Old and Ancient Order of Catfish made a break for it, before they surrendered to the net.

Me and my boys were in New Hampshire dunking our live baits in a 40-acre puddle called Sun Lake that neighbored the mighty Winnepesaukee. The big boys trolled 30-40 feet deep in Winnepesaukee for lake trout that were born before the ice age melted away, leaving Northeastern America full of deep, cold, blue lakes full of trout. But me and my gang caught bream, yellow perch, catfish, small mouth and pickerel on live baits in the shallows—next door in Sun Lake.

The better the New England fishing the longer my tales about the Southern lunkers of my youth. No I

"If Oedipus Rex
hadda gone fishing
more often with his old
man, they'd have had a
better relationship."

—Anonymous Bait Shop Proprietor

didn't exaggerate. It was more like the dreamy remembrance of your sleek, streamlined '48 Olds—your first car. Now, at the antique car show through older eyeballs, your automotive dream turned into a humpback hybrid of fact and fancy. Shorter, squattier, higher.

"Wait'll we get back South," was my motto throughout our New England stay. I mean, how could the fish population get fat and sassy in a Northeastern lake that only shed its ice from May to mid September. Common sense says a growing season that short had to stunt the growth of our prey. And that's why New Englanders can't grow watermelons, either, I told the boys. "Takes four or five nice warm months to plump up watermelons and blue gills."

Over and over, I made my "I wish I was in Dixie" speech and lamented the sad, stunted state of the Northeastern fish population: so often and with such passion that even I was convinced that Northeastern lakes full of bream and bass and pickerel, that took a number to flop in our boat, were no big deal. Too easy to be much fun. In fact, it was almost an obligation. Who could relax over a bologna, mayo, and white bread sandwich when the

bass were in such a acrobatic mood? And it certainly wasn't as exciting as my youthful, Southern expeditions when the old man could go through the entire Arthurian cycle plus a couple of Sherlock Holmes adventures without the smallest nibble from fastidious Sunfish.

Then one bright June morning in 1976 after twenty years of New Hampshire fishing, my boss called. Who can forget that transcendental moment. It was 8:15—a Tuesday. A small green and blue fly was perched on the rim of my coffee cup; debating, I'm sure, a relaxing bath or an invigorating swim. The boss told me he was sending me back to my Southern womb. Well, not exactly—Alabama not Tennessee—but close enough.

So my tour of duty in New England ended and we headed South. I celebrated with three barbecues for breakfast in Hunstville, Alabama the morning of my arrival. My second impulsive splurge after fifteen years of steady deliberation of my bank balance was the purchase of a modest fishing cabin on Pickwick Lake—midway between our Huntsville home and Memphis, where my grown up kids now lived.

Ah, just like the old times. A warp of time. Back to those Southern waters that bathed my youthful roots. Noble Lancelot, King Arthur, Sherlock Holmes and Watson, MacBeth and his murderous wife, and hesitant Hamlet, who couldn't decide on scrambled or easy-over eggs for breakfast. They hung over Pickwick Lake like the morning mist.

Me and the kid met fairly often. I had retired by now; swapping a boss who rewarded me with a periodic stipend, paid vacation and coffee breaks for a wife with a checklist of daily assignments and a checkbook that was *mine*. But my new employer was a softy for father-son activities. Twenty years ago that other boss with the paycheck pretty much occupied my time. Family fishing trips were a luxury. Now, though the son's wrapped in the same chains, he's always got time for the old man.

There's something about the

lake and the hills that underlines our relationship. A great environment for a father-son seminar on life's imponderables. I pass on the philosophical baton, so to speak. Hand him my take on life's great mysteries; why there's no graffiti in the ladies restroom, why only the driver's side windshield wiper stops, why the phone company charges more *not* to list your number, why Southerners—amongst all the life forms existing in this kooky cosmos—put American cheese on their salad; Stuff like that. Then we talk about his spending habits (Eating out five nights a week when chicken leg quarters are 29-cents a pound), tie selection (Paisley's only okay for underwear), child rearing (They're *my* grandchildren, you know!), and football allegiances (I paid for his Alabama education based on my Business degree at UT—shouldn't he holler *Go Vols!* once in a while?).

I usually wrap up my presentation with a lecture on the hereafter and its bountiful rewards for sons who obey that superseding commandment—"Honor thy father and sometimes thy mother." He listens with an expression I know so well; wide-eyed—non blinking—focused. Maybe his mind is working on a management problem at work, but clearly his face is mine.

He had always been a good listener—a prerequisite for a son with a storytelling father. And where'd all those tales of adventure, mystery, and romance come from? From my old man, of



course, who thought a fishing trip was an opportunity to tell his son about King Arthur and his magnificent knights of the round table. "Good listeners make good sons," was my papa's watchword. Many a daring catfish escaped with his life and a fat worm because the fisherman's body had been snatched and occupied by the storyteller.

Me and this child were bound by the father/son protocol. There's really no precise word to describe the connection. We're not friends—that implies equality. We certainly aren't pals, buddies, or comrades—words that miss the generational sweep of our intimacy. It's a time haunted kinship. I saw his birth—he'll see my death. He'll name his kids after my father and tell them his stories. In fact, he's already started. And sometimes in front of me. I always find a discrepancy or two. "No, no Sherlock and Watson didn't stay at the manor house that night. They were out on the moor." Naturally, he never argues. How could he? I'm the source. Lord help me the day he has time to consult Arthur Conan Doyle.

We do okay at Pickwick. Bream and catfish and occasionally a bass who's lost his way. Of course, we're handicapped by the fact that I prefer the dock to the boat. Easier for a senior yarn spinner to get his mouth and mind working out of a lawn chair on the dock than a plank seat in a rowboat. We talk. The kid, who's no longer a kid, indulges in gross exaggerations of our Northeast adventures. Time is a magician—who knows better than me.

In addition to my exposition of life's conundrums I still sneak in a potboiler or two. He's gotta educate his kids, doesn't he, and where would he find time to read "The Hound of the Baskervilles"? If the fishing is slow, so much better for the storyteller and listener. Good listeners make good sons, you know. ☺

Ted Roberts is an Alabama humorist and a new regular contributor to Southern Partisan.

The Sobran

VIEW

Those Selfish Taxpayers

Virginia's gubernatorial race last month was decided by a single issue: the state's annual property tax on cars. Republican James Gilmore roundly defeated Democrat Don Beyer, the early favorite, by promising to abolish the tax, which is steep, painful and hated. The margin of victory was 56 percent to 43 percent.

President Clinton, visiting Virginia the day before the election, gave Mr. Gilmore a last-minute boost by giving Mr. Beyer a last-minute endorsement. Ordinarily a presidential endorsement would help a candidate, but Mr. Clinton called those who resent the car tax "selfish."

This priggish rebuke, coming from a rich man who rides in a limousine paid for by taxpayers, did not sit well with Virginia's taxpayers.

It could only have given an adrenalin lift to those who were inclined to vote for Mr. Gilmore.

Mr. Clinton won the presidency after campaigning against the 1980s, the Republican "decade of greed." Since then, his own conduct has taken the sting out of the words "selfish" and "greed" and replaced it with irony.

His luxurious lifestyle, his (and Mrs. Clinton's) financial affairs, and his cultivation of rich donors from Hollywood to Asia have thickened the smog of corruption that always hovers over Washington—a smog the Democrats had previously succeeded in blaming on the Republicans. His penchant for seeking, and getting, record levels of easy money has made him the wrong man to inveigh against those whose greed and selfishness consist in wanting to keep their own earnings.

For too long, liberals have gotten away with a cheap equation of virtue

with government redistribution, and of vice with private wealth. This false equation has made it possible for men like Edward Kennedy to assume the moral high ground as they press for ever-increasing levels of centralized power, taxation and government spending.

This bogus morality has been accompanied by a steady assault on the real, and complex, material foundations of morality, private property among them. In the name of helping the poor and making the rich pay their "fair share," liberals have constantly broadened the working definition of "the rich" to include more and more middle-class people, many of whom, thanks to high taxes, now need two paychecks to make ends meet. Liberal social policy has, at best, neglected the needs of families, including the basic need of property rights.

While bogus rights (including "welfare rights") and entitlement have expanded, the rights of taxpayers have steadily shrunk—if you can call such residual prerogatives rights. That the taxpayer is presumed guilty in IRS audits is entirely consistent with the liberal ethos.

Liberal federal courts have construed their pet rights expansively, finding nude dancing and abortion in the "penumbras" and "emanations" of the Bill of Rights. But they have arbitrarily declined to expand provisions in the Bill of Rights (and the 13th and 14th Amendments) that might equally well have been broadened to protect taxpayers against government takings. The practical result has been to remove limitations on the confiscation of private wealth.

Liberal jurisprudence, like the liberal legislation it mimics, has been shaped by a "progressive" agenda. This is why constitutional law, once comprehensible, has become hopelessly confusing. An extra-constitu-



tional agenda has made some clauses of the constitution mean things never intended, implied or envisioned by those who ratified the original document or its later amendments. The same agenda has made other clauses meaningless. So studying constitutional law no longer means grasping the principled logic of the whole; it means memorizing a long series of zigzagging, seemingly ad hoc court rulings.

Most people, baffled, tune it all out. But a few, including a disproportionate number of clever lawyers, find the new system a congenial environment to operate in, partly because it is closed to all but "experts." The general public is suspicious of this system, but helpless against it. The Clintons are quite comfortable in it; both Mr. and Mrs. Clinton are lawyers, and the president briefly taught constitutional law. They have learned to make the system pay them dividends, while deploring other people's "greed."

In Virginia, private property has just won a small but heartening victory, and liberal hypocrisy has received a small but stinging comeuppance. ✪

Please welcome Joe Sobran to *Southern Partisan*. A former writer for *National Review*, Sobran has been a syndicated columnist for over a decade. He lives in Arlington, Virginia with his four children.

Southern Cooking

BY SALLY JEAN

My husband is perhaps the greatest football player never—well, hardly ever—to have worn a football uniform. One of the things about Southern men is that their off-season sports are sufficiently dangerous to cripple them. A standout wide receiver and Staubach-like quarterback, my husband spent his freshman and sophomore years in back brace and his junior year in a leg cast. Further injuries confronted him with a choice—a few moments of glory once a week—or burial (in several pieces) by the age of 30. He eventually conceded he was meant to be a spectator.

It is only in recent years that I, on the other hand, a former cheerleader, have been able to watch football on television, without bursting into spontaneous high kicks, jumping over the dog (with legs demurely tucked under me), and smashing invisible pom-poms. Now, instead, my two pre-school boys are teaching me a thing or two about tackling.

Fall in the South means football, of course, and for those of us too old to take to the field, it means football parties. Recently we hosted a "tail-gate" party at our home where along with barbecued chicken, seven-layer dip, Auburn cheese sandwiches and other food and fixin's, we sampled the following classic Southern football recipes.

First, from Sandy Callender, University of Alabama, comes her Crimson Tide specialty, "**Man-Pleasin' Dip**," which requires one bottle of beer, one can of ro-tel, one pound of ground beef, one package of hot taco seasoning, and one brick of Velveeta. To start, brown the beef in a frying pan with the hot taco seasoning. Now, here's the trick: *Don't Drain the Fat*. Sandy has tried it both ways and discovered that while men may prefer their women lean, they prefer their dips pretty hearty. Once the beef is browned, throw it into a crock pot with all the other ingredients, on low,

overnight. "Man-Pleasin' Dip" can be reheated over and over again; the taste doesn't fade if anything it gets better—spicier and beerier.

To avoid accusations of sexism, we matched this with "**Belle-Pleasin' Beans**," from Air Force brat Steve Schwalm, whose wife is a Kentucky belle. Pan fry one pound of lean ground beef. Add one can of refried beans and a half-pound of chunky hot salsa, sprinkle with grated cheddar cheese and 8 chopped jalapeno peppers. Serve, as with "Man-Pleasin' Dip," with tortilla chips.

These dips are entrees in themselves. To balance them off, we had Dixie Caviar as a salad. For **Dixie Caviar** you'll need:

- 2 cups of canned black-eyed peas (if frozen you need to cook them first)
- 1 can of garbanzo beans (or white hominy)
- 2 medium tomatoes, chopped
- 1 cup Italian salad dressing
- 1 cup chopped green pepper
- ½ cup chopped onion
- 4 scallions, sliced
- 2 jalapeno peppers, chopped
- 2 cloves of garlic, minced
- ½ chopped cilantro or parsley

Rinse and drain the peas, then mix everything in a bowl, cover and chill for a day or two (this is great for college football road trips.) Stir it up and serve as a salad on a bed of lettuce.

Our party was graced by marvelous weather, but on colder autumn nights, a thermos full of "**Confederate Cheese Beer Soup**" can do wonders. To make it you'll use:

- ½ cup of flour
- 1 clove of garlic, pressed
- 1 tsp of Worcestershire sauce
- ½ teaspoon dry mustard



- 3 cups chicken broth
- 1 cup beer
- ⅓ cup butter
- 1 tbs. grated onion
- ½ tsp. salt
- ⅛ tsp. white pepper
- 1 ½ cups half and half
- 4 cups shredded sharp white cheddar

In a large saucepan, melt butter, stir in flour and cook one minute, stirring constantly until smooth and bubbly. Add garlic, onion, Worcestershire sauce, salt, mustard, and pepper. Gradually stir in chicken broth, half and half, and beer. Cook until thickened stirring constantly. Add cheese and stir until it melts, but don't let the mixture boil. Then you're ready to go.

And the perfect drink to accompany it all, "**Opponent's Blood**." Fill a tall glass with ice and mix two parts cranberry juice to one part spiced rum. It helps to loosen the vocal chords for touchdown-cheering rebel yells. ☼

Sallie Jean is a new contributor to *Southern Partisan*. She is one of several who will provide us with the best of Southern Cooking.

WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

"In the introduction to a *Treasury of Civil War Tales*, I wrote, 'This volume does not begin to exhaust the rich lode of Civil War material available.' The same is true of the present volume. Hopefully, though, *Civil War Trivia* will prove to be an enjoyable challenge to every student of this most unusual of wars, the ramifications of which continue to our own time."

—Webb Garrison in the introduction to *Civil War Trivia*

FAMOUS FIRSTS

1. Who was the first general officer, Union or Confederate, to die on the battlefield?
2. Who received the first battlefield promotion of the war?
3. The South's first organized secret-service bureau, formed in 1862, was part of what larger organization?
4. In July 1862 what force sent 35,000 men by train from Tupelo, Mississippi, to Chattanooga, Tennessee?
5. What officer was first to be placed in charge of a Confederate department?
6. When was suspension of *habeas corpus* first legalized by act of Congress?
7. What Confederate was first to be promoted to the rank of full general?
8. Who gave the first battlefield promotion as a reward for "distinguished conduct"?
9. What battle was first to be personally observed by a head of state?

10. What was the first—and only—military medal awarded in the Confederacy?
11. What Virginian is widely believed to have fired the first shot against Fort Sumter?
12. Where did the first Confederate Congress meet?

ANSWERS

1. Brig. Gen. Robert S. Garnett, C.S.A., died July 13, 1861, at Corrick's Ford, Virginia.
2. Arnold Elzey, C.S.A., from colonel to brigadier general, July 21, 1861.
3. The C.S.A. Signal Corps.
4. The Confederate Army of the Mississippi (Braxton Bragg).
5. Maj. Gen. David E. Twiggs, spring 1861.
6. March 1863, two years after Lincoln's presidential proclamation

- "suspended" it.
7. P.G.T. Beauregard, August 31, 1861 (backdated to June 21, 1861).
 8. Jefferson Davis, at First Manassas.
 9. First Manassas (by Jefferson Davis).
 10. The Davis Guard Medal, given by residents of Sabine City, Texas, to the Davis Guards, a military company.
 11. Edmund Ruffin.
 12. Montgomery, Alabama.

Webb Garrison is a veteran writer who lives in Lake Junaluska, North Carolina. Formerly associate dean of Emory University and president of McKenree College, he has written 40 books, including A Treasury of White House Tales, and A Treasury of Christmas Stories. Civil War Trivia and Fact Book, ©1992 by Webb Garrison and reprinted by permission of Rutledge Hill Press, Nashville, Tennessee.

SOUTHERN SAMPLER

BY WILLIAM FREEHOFF

ON THE 'PECKERWOOD' VOTERS OF MISSISSIPPI

"They were the sort of people that lynch Negroes, that mistake hoodlumism for wit and cunning for intelligence, that attend revivals and fight and fornicate in the bushes afterwards."

—William Alexander Percy

ON SEPARATION OF POWERS

"... There will be found to exist at all times an imperious necessity for restraining all the functionaries of this

Government within the range of their respective powers thereby preserving a just balance between the powers granted to this Government and those reserved to the States and to the people."

—President John Tyler

ON THE PRINCE OF WALES (LATER KING EDWARD VII)

"He is simply a beery old bum who has spent his life cheating at the gaming board, debauching the fool wives of those who hang upon his favors, and opting for the foulest of all diseases."

—W. C. Brann, 1898

ON WHY VIRGINIA WAS SETTLED

"To preach and baptize into the Christian Religion, and by propagation of the Gospel, to recover out of the arms of the devil, a number of poor and miserable souls wrapt up unto death, in almost invincible ignorance, and add our might to the treasury of Heaven."

—The Virginia Company

DEVOUTLY SPEAKING

BY ROBERT HILLDRUP

A friend who is pastor of one of the few growing churches in United Methodism used to invite me regularly to one of his services.

I said I'd go if I knew the lion was going to bite him. It was a regular exchange we'd have back when our paths crossed often. He'd laugh and I'd laugh and we'd go our separate ways. I've never been to his church. And so far as I know, the lion has yet to bite him. Although if it has, I doubt if he'd let me know.

Jim is an old Mississippi boy who started out in show business, so I guess sharing a pulpit with a lion comes naturally. But it's not as if he couldn't get by without the lion. Jim is one of those few Methodist preachers with an earned doctorate (from a Roman Catholic institution, at that), not one of those preachers who tosses about an honorary Doctor of Divinity from a college that normally offers nothing but bachelor's degrees.

The lion is only part of the show. Jim even has a lamb that'll lie down with it. He has a full scale menagerie which he keeps on a farm and draws upon it to use in his services. The kids love it, which means the parents are there, which means he has a growing congregation in a denomination that has been in a membership nosedive for 20 years.

There's a tradition of religious showmanship in the South, so maybe Jim's lionizing shouldn't bother me so much. Billy Sunday making one of his baseball slides down the sawdust aisle of a Tennessee tent meeting or an all-day preaching with dinner on the grounds (if you didn't find one preacher entertaining, there'd be another along in a bit), that's a part

of the Southern religious heritage that some still remember. Or even the "camp meeting," some of them at permanent camps where different churches would hold week-long sessions for much of the year. Or the old "brush arbor," thrown together with cut pines and split log benches so new and fresh your church clothes would stick to the bleeding sap if you didn't bring a piece of butcher paper to sit on. That too is part of the Methodist heritage, and that of a lot of other Southern denominations as well.

So I guess if you're on the kind of losing streak Methodism has been facing—and a lot of its sister Protestant denominations as well—most any kind of fad that helps arrest the slide looks good.

But this business about the Christian faith—its mystery, if you will—goes a little deeper than a lion, even a real one, prancing about the pulpit.

Which is why I asked Jim one day, "What happens when the lion dies?"

"Well," he said, "I'll just get another one."

And I imagine he will. And if that's the future of United Methodism, maybe we just ought to go back to camp meeting and dinner on the grounds and the old brush arbor. The noise was kinda loud there at times, and maybe the theology was a little weak. You didn't hear much about patristics and exegesis and epistemology, but you didn't have to worry about getting bit by a lion, either, or where you were going to get a new star when your old one died. ☺

Mr. Hilldrup lives in Short Pump—a suburb of Richmond, Virginia—and is a Methodist layman.

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Filling a Whole in the World

BY BRYANT BURROUGHS

A REVIEW OF: *Whittaker Chambers*

by Sam Tanenhaus.
Random House, 638 pages, 1997,
\$35.00.

Whittaker Chambers emerged from the darkness into the bright light of history in August 1948. He came to bear witness against the great terror of the twentieth century—communism. His witness was born of profound personal experience in which he discovered that communism is a murderer masked as a priest. While it couches its call in appealing words of equality and liberty, in reality it consumes both.

Whittaker Chambers lived his years locked in a death dance with communism. His life divided into three epochs. The first was his years as a young man in the communist underground in the United States, responsible for an espionage ring that included men of high rank in the Roosevelt New Deal. The second epoch began with his dangerous break from the underground, after which he spent the next decade building a public reputation as a senior editor for *Time*. The third and final epoch began in 1948 when he bore witness in what became known as "the Hiss case." His tortured testimony revealed Chambers to be, in the words of Andre Malraux, "One of those who did not return from Hell with empty hands."

Journalist Sam Tanenhaus has produced the first biography of this compelling and complex man, and Tanenhaus' focus reveals Chambers to be even more compelling and complex than was previously recognized: a man who rejected communism and chose democracy even though convinced that he was joining the losing

side: a man disdainful of politics, yet profoundly engaged in the intersection of politics and religion; a man whose writings were seared with dark apocalyptic historicism, but who cheerfully spent his weekends cultivating a farm.

Chambers' descent into the abyss of communism began at Columbia in 1920. Brilliant in both philosophy and literature, Chambers steeped himself



in the mastery of literature and ideas, especially the dark geniuses of eastern Europe: Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Ibsen, Chekhov. Legendary English professor Mark Van Doren rated Chambers as the best of the Columbia undergraduates in the 1920s, a decade in which the campus bubbled with bright young students. At a second-hand bookstore in lower Manhattan, Chambers chanced to buy a fifty-cent edition of "The Soviets at Work," Vladimir Lenin's 1918 speech to workers. Lenin's vision cut through the nihilism and moral uncertainty that dominated Chambers. One cold winter evening early in 1925, sitting on a bench near

the statue of Alexander Hamilton in front of Hartley Hall on the Columbia campus, Whittaker Chambers became a communist.

For the next seven years, Chambers served as the star writer for communist publications. But a convert as gifted as Chambers was marked for more vital assignment. In 1932 he was recruited into the espionage wing of the party, and two years later was assigned to lead an espionage ring whose members were young policy intellectuals beginning their careers in the early heady days of the New Deal. These men included Harold Ware, John Abt, Lee Pressman, Nathan Witt and Alger Hiss. All shared a vision of an invigorated government working for the common good. Moscow planned for these young stars to advance in their careers and penetrate the major agencies of State and Defense. The man selected to cultivate this penetration was Whittaker Chambers.

But by 1937 Chambers began to contemplate the unthinkable: to abandon both the party and his undercover assignment. Provoked by his relentless commitment to truth and love, the spy had begun to doubt the righteousness of the cause. First, he began to hear of the horrors of Stalin's Great Terror, in which two million Russians were annihilated in 1937-38. The breaking point was reached when he heard the report of a young mother who was hauled to Moscow's Lubyanka prison with her two small children in the middle of the night. As guards began beating her children, she cried to the commander, "Tell me, please, what does this have to do with children?" Chambers' great mind concluded that communism's triumph means "slavery to men wherever they fall under its sway, and spiritual night to the human mind and soul." The idealistic vision of Lenin had deteriorated into the murders of Lubyanka.

Chambers second provocation was love. He had built a life with Esther Shemitz, a young artist he had met in 1926 at a textile labor strike. The couple married in 1931 and now had two small children, John and Ellen. In his six years as a spy, he had lived in 21 different addresses, his family was forced to adopt aliases, and they lived in continual fear of discovery. He yearned for a normal life for his little family.

But even thinking about leaving was dangerous. Stalin's iron fist had stretched to the United States to murder a number of defectors. Worse for Chambers, as the head of an espionage apparatus placed high in Washington, he knew too much to be allowed to break without retribution. So for an entire year he planned his escape. He hid a packet of incriminating documents in a dumbwaiter shaft in a friend's apartment. He bought a farmhouse buried on a dirt road deep in the rural wilds of Maryland. On April 1, 1938 he defected and plunged his family into hiding. For a year they hid at the farm and in other safe houses in Florida and South Carolina, while the Party desperately searched for him. Finally, Chambers realized that life on the run was no better than life in the underground, and he devised a brilliant plan. He would use his formidable writing skills to build a public reputation as a journalist. Stalin would hesitate to assassinate a public figure, especially one suspected to have a cache of documents that named names.

He was hired in April 1939 as a reviewer in the Books section of *Time* magazine, and his brilliant writing produced a cover story a month later. It began a meteoric rise in publisher Henry Luce's *Time* empire. With his knowledge of history, politics, and world affairs, Chambers quickly rose in responsibility and voice. By 1942 he was editor of the back sections of the magazine, thirteen departments in all. In 1943 he became a senior editor, joining a group of seven who determined editorial policy. In 1944 he was temporarily assigned to the job he had coveted since joining *Time*:

Foreign News Editor. His writing were marked by a fierce, unrelenting anti-communism emanating from his clear vision of the nature of communism, and even before the end of the war he warned of the threat posed by the Soviet Union.

In 1946 heart problems forced a move to a new department—Special Projects—created by Luce to provide Chambers a forum for more deliberative and contemplative pieces. The result was magic. Chambers' clear vision of history, his rare skill at simplifying complex ideas, and his lyrical writing style produced many of *Time*'s cover stories in 1946-48. He attacked racial discrimination in a profile of Marian Anderson, explained to the American public Arnold Toynbee's theory of history, profiled theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, and wrote a series of seven essays on the history of western civilization. Luce later said Chambers was the best writer *Time* ever employed.

But history brought Chambers into close conflict with the communist underground that he had abandoned. After a brief post-war glow, the United States had recognized the Soviet threat, and Congress called hearings in response to rumors of a secret underground of communists who held high posts within the government. The committee subpoenaed Chambers, the most famous ex-communist in America. But neither the committee nor the public was prepared for the bombshell dropped by Chambers. The crowded hearing room was silent as Chambers, in measured tones and lyrical cadences, described the underground communist ring that he had managed. Reluctantly but fairly he named its members. The press raced for telephones: Whittaker Chambers had accused Alger Hiss of being a communist.

To Chambers it seemed that the whole world raged against him. He had accused Alger Hiss, the bright star of the rising liberal generation. His credentials were impressive: Harvard Law School graduate, clerk of Oliver Wendell Holmes on the Supreme Court, high rank in the State Department, organizer of the

Yalta Conference in the waning days of the war, and in 1945 had led negotiations that produced the United Nations Charter. He recently had been named head of the Carnegie Foundation. The press, with its natural bent toward appearance rather than reality chose Hiss' side. Hiss was tall and lean, impeccably dressed, and armed with a long list of high ranking supporters that read like governmental *Who's Who*. But, as Jeffrey Hart has said, Hiss was a man turned inside out because he lived a lie. After weeks of tense and dramatic testimony by the two protagonists and others, the committee concluded that Chambers testimony was true and Hiss' false. A jury in a civil suit filed by Hiss reached the identical conclusion, and Hiss was sentenced to prison for perjury.

His health ruined by the stress of the Hiss trial, Chambers retired to his farm. But his testimony was not yet complete. In 1952 he told his story in a book of memoirs: *Witness*. The book is haunting and lyrical, stark in its message, moving in its eloquence, and for nearly half a century has compelled men and women of reason to face the terrible reality of communism. The foreword, entitled "A Letter to My Children," is itself worth the price of the book. As his friend Arthur Koestler wrote: "There are books which if they had remained unwritten, would leave a hole in the world."

So it is with men. Tanenhaus' biography comes at a time in which two of the three generations living in America do not know Whittaker Chambers. His apocalyptic enemy has been defeated, as the spirits of those in bondage arose and tore down the wall that separated far more than two sections of Berlin, for it symbolized the separation of men from freedom. But as long as some men seek to rule other men, Chambers' witness will be a bright beacon of warning and hope. ☪

Bryant Burroughs is a freelance writer and served Southern Partisan for a time as book review editor.

The Constitutional Thought of Thomas Jefferson

by David N. Mayer
Virginia, 394 pages, 1994, \$39.50
cloth / \$18.50 paper.

Thomas Jefferson's reputation is that of a great thinker. He is popularly (and I believe wrongly, but that is a different matter) believed to have been the greatest thinker among American's Revolutionaries. It is as a writer and as an unofficial *pontifex rei publici* that Jefferson is remembered, as the man who sat on Monticello and defined American liberalism. Yet, despite the perennial attention to the thought of the Revolutionary generation, generations elapsed between the last book-length study of Jefferson's constitutional thought and David N. Mayer's *The Constitutional Thought of Thomas Jefferson*.

Mayer's book is, first of all, a very nice physical artifact. Secondly, it is organized in a perfectly reasonable way. Mayer avoids most anachronistic temptations. There is little here about Jefferson and race, nothing at all about Jefferson and women. There is, though, a preoccupation with libertarian implications of Jefferson's constitutional thought. Among other manifestations, this leads to inclusion of a chapter on Jefferson and the Bill of Rights. I would quibble with inclusion of such a chapter. Jefferson had nothing to do with drafting the first ten amendments to the federal constitution, and the idea that he persuaded James Madison of its necessity seems to me to be quite a stretch. In any event, his (and his contemporaries') view was that those amendments' sweep was only a small fraction of that which they have been given today. To give the space of one out of ten chapters to this subject is thus, alas, anachronistic.

Mayer also falls into the trap of drawing conclusions where there is not adequate evidence. We are told

we can assume that Jefferson had the same views as his contemporaries on some questions, for example, Why? *Iipse dixit*. One would prefer a little more circumspection in this regard. (One would also note that in most books of this type, one notes a lack of circumspection; seldom does an intellectual historian say he does not know what his subject thought, although he often/usually cannot.)

Those caveats are perhaps more in the mode of generalizable objections to the tendency in the field at large that about this book specifically. This book is both a good introduction to its topic and a nice primer on the constitutional problems of the Revolutionary and Early Republic periods. Jefferson was, after all, at the center of the major issues of his era. Indeed, many of them—judicial review and federalism, for example (to each of which Mayer devotes a whole chapter)—became burning issues largely because Jefferson chose to make them such.

Mayer deserves credit for his interpretation. Unlike many in academia, he sees federalism as a central constitutional value for Jefferson (right there with republicanism and separation of powers). Mayer describes the significance for the regime of the "Revolution of 1800," as Jefferson referred to it, and describes clearly the Jeffersonian hope for perpetual tinkering with (or improvement of, if one adopts the Jeffersonian point of view) American constitutions by amendment.

Much in Jefferson's teaching could usefully be resuscitated today. Surely federalism, limitations on the role of the judiciary, and readiness to amend the constitution when amendment is indicated are all good ideas. In addition, Jefferson's notions that the president must be "Bound by the Chains of the Constitution" and that government is "Founded in Jealousy, and Not in Confidence" have obvious implications in a day when the president and leading

members of the media castigate anyone who dares to express skepticism toward government.

For the student of the period or devotee of things Jeffersonian, there is not much that is new in *The Constitutional Thought of Thomas Jefferson*. However, David N. Mayer has done a nice job of organizing the great Virginian's thought in digestible form.

—K.R. Constantine Gutzman

Sleeping at the Starlight Motel And Other Adventures on the Way Back Home

by Bailey White
Addison-Wesley, 238 pages, 1996,
\$20.00.

If you're like I am and are constantly a day late and a dollar short, you might have missed Bailey White's latest book, *Sleeping at the Starlight Motel*. Perhaps you even failed to notice *Mama Makes Up her Mind*. These two volumes are collections of sketches that White—an elementary school teacher in Thomasville, Georgia—has recorded as a regular commentator on National Public Radio's "All Things Considered." *Mama Makes Up Her Mind* was nominated for the Southern Book Award and the ABBY Award, which proves bonafide Southerners can oftentimes be recognized for their work along with everyone else who moves in from New York or New Jersey to write about us.

I say "bonafide" because White is truly Southern, though not preciously so. In her most recent book, *Sleeping At the Starlight Motel*, she explores both the institution of the family and its connections. She clearly doesn't need to look outside the family for entertainment. In fact, of the thirty-seven pieces in the collection, twenty-five pertain to her own

family, its connections, and people White has known all her life. In other sections, the characters who inhabit the places she travels interest her because they are like the kind of people she left back home.

"It's still a comfort to come back from traveling," she writes, "with my random memories like a display in some Victorian museum of miscellany, to a home full of people whose lives I know so well I can tell the story of every missing finger and call every old lady's cat by name."

The sketches are prescriptive and instructive in their own way. It is White's Aunt Eleanor who marks the family's decline in stature because, while she was taking a shower, the whole bathroom gave way but only fell into the basement, whereas White's greatuncle Melville "came through the ceiling from a second-floor bathroom, right over the dining-room table when Pamela was having her garden club luncheon ... Shot right through the ceiling medalion, he did, your great-uncle Melville ... and landed in the tomato aspic. Now there's style. There's class. There's breeding."

In a later episode, which also touches on the family's fallen state, *nouveau riche* cousin Mandon, who made his money in cable TV, invites all the kin to his huge house "designed by someone who had made a careful study of the Tryon Palace under the handicap of a visual learning disability." Mandon extends this hospitality because he wants to wrest from them their 12 Chippendale chairs, which have been divided among several members. (Aunt Eleanor sits up in her chair all night, staring into the darkness, before she finally relinquishes it.)

But White doesn't depict a region in the grips of terminal decay. In "Saltville," her great-aunt Della is saved from the old folks home because she sells a lock of General Lee's hair and letters from Mary Custis Lee and J.E.B. Stuart to an historian from the University of Virginia.

The price: \$50,000. Then she is able to fix up her dilapidated house and live in it for the rest of her days. White observes that Della "made good use of her dead."

All of these characters are credible because White chooses to see the humor in life's absurdities and avoids investing her narratives with more sentiment than they earn on their own. Even Miss Grantly, who has her house literally stolen and carted off to the country by two architects, accepts her fate. "It was a John Wind house, of course," she explains. The fact that this architect of the 1830s "built only ten exquisitely proportioned houses of unparalleled excellence in the Greek Revival style" seems explanation enough for the theft, she concludes with a shrug of her shoulders, recognizing that the architects who stole it have the money and youth necessary for a full restoration.

In addition to this understated, no-nonsense attitude, White's characters defy dehumanization because they're eccentrics in a world of drab conformity. They're fun in an increasingly fun-deprived society, where no one dares to be different from the rest of the people on the block.

These characters also function in a world that still has some sense of its biblical heritage. This Judeo-Christian ambience is evident in "Produce Stand," where Mr. Grange changes his message with the season and the produce. For plums, watermelons, and peaches, the message on his sign board reads *for Dust Thou Art and unto Dust Shalt Thou Return*. For asparagus, jelly, and rhubarb, the message becomes *I Will Lift up Mine Eyes unto the Hills My Help Cometh from the Lord*. This simplicity is a refreshing allusion to another time, when all of American society shared the same knowledge of the Bible. Mr. Grange keeps this lost world alive for those who listen to NPR.

Most of White's characters,

however, live in the last decade of the 20th century. They don't talk about religion, nor are they overly nostalgic about the old days. They do the best they can in contemporary society and trust that their conventional wisdom will see them through adversity.

White's greatest gift to the reader is her sense of humor. (I laughed so hard at one of her sketches that I woke the dog and drove him out of my bedroom.) One of her funniest vignettes is "Computer School," which can't be paraphrased but only read in its original form. Suffice it to say that her humor is refreshingly kind and subtle, neither dark, nor scatological, nor heavy with the irony of the self-consciously superior observer.

She is funny mainly because she captures a freshness of expression, an absurd turn of events, the incongruity that occasionally upsets life and in the process makes it worth living. Thus one aunt teaches an alligator to bellow when she revs up her truck, while another fills her house with rocks, which she gives to friends and relatives on special occasions. Her characters are funnier than any you can find on any TV sitcom and more real than the people on *CBS Evening News*.

How they let her on National Public Radio I'll never understand, but I hope they let her continue.

—Jane Brown

Henry Hughes and Proslavery Thought in the Old South

by Douglas Ambrose
LSU Press, 1997, 226 pages, \$45.00
hardcover

In *Henry Hughes and Proslavery Thought in the Old South*, Douglas Ambrose adds his voice to the growing chorus of scholars proclaiming the abundance of Southern intellectual endeavors. Ambrose's subject, Henry Hughes, was born in 1829 in

Port Gibson, Mississippi. After graduating from Oakland College in 1847, Hughes went on to study law with an attorney in New Orleans; yet, still found time to study numerous subjects running the gamut from physiology to Shakespeare.

Hughes's *Treatise on Sociology* was published in 1854. In the *Treatise*, Hughes developed the concept of warranteeism, which he saw as the natural and logical development of slavery. Hughes began by declaring subsistence and progress to be the ultimate goals of social organization. To attain these goals, Hughes planned to use State power to an extent not imagined by most Southerners at the time. Though the South traditionally was wary of government power and sought to limit it through strict construction of the Constitution as well as other measures such as nullification, Hughes rejected this intellectual heritage in toto. Hughes saw statism as the mechanism by which Southerners would protect their way of life. As the industrialized North used State power to further its interests, so Hughes wanted the South to use the State to preserve its social order.

Under Hughes's warranteeism, each person had a labor obligation to society, and the State made the obligation of simple laborers purchasable. The warrantor, as an agent of the State, did not own the warrantees as in the slave system, but rather was forced to warrant a "comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength" as dictated by government planners. Hughes believed that universal subsistence was impossible if left to market forces and thus only the warrantor, who Hughes saw as a benevolent head of the household composed of the immediate family and warrantees, could participate in the market by selling the household's production and purchasing necessities not produced within the household. Moreover, taking lessons from seventh-century England, Hughes incorporated the concept of frankpledge into warranteeism. The household, and not the individual warrantee, was responsible for the

warrantee's wrongs. Hughes feared that a simple laborer would be subject to "want" if he was forced to pay fines, which would cut into his level of subsistence and thus undermine the goals of Hughes's society. Ambrose correctly describes Hughes the sociologist as "the foremost proponent of statism in the antebellum South."

Though the *Treatise* did not garner as much influence as Hughes hoped, it certainly placed him in the public arena. He became active in Mississippi politics and wrote numerous articles on the political questions of the 1850s. Hughes, who saw slavery as a positive good rather than a necessary evil, argued that the slave trade should be reopened. Hughes thought that the reopening of the trade would cure labor shortages and thus open the way for new Southern manufactories, keep the states of the Upper South firmly in unfree labor's corner insofar as their hands would not be sold to the Deep South, and end the degradation of white women, who Hughes believed should not work.

With the coming of the War, Hughes volunteered for duty, was elected captain of the Claiborne Guards, and later became colonel of the Twelfth Regiment of Mississippi Guards. But, like so many other Southern soldiers, Hughes fell to disease early in the conflict. Ambrose speculates that Hughes, had he survived, would have approved of the actions of the state and Confederate governments insofar as they regulated agricultural production, operated factories, conscripted men, and so forth. Most partisans of the CSA (this writer included) would like to believe that had the South been successful in the prosecution of the War, government would have been returned to its very limited but necessary role in society. However, experience teaches us that once government acquires new powers, it seldom relinquishes them. Though one would like to think better of the states' rights advocates who were compelled by a hostile invader to take measures inconsistent with the South's most basic tenets, perhaps Hughes would have

found the post-War Confederate nation to his liking. War, and war alone, has the power to undermine the foundations of a nation like no other calamity.

In conclusion, Ambrose's biography of Hughes reminds us that the Old South was far from the intellectual wasteland as claimed by many academics. Though most Southerners, as did Hughes's contemporaries, should find the statist principles of warranteeism anathema, Hughes's thought should be remembered for its originality and for foreshadowing of the rise of the modern Leviathan. Ambrose's fine work attests to the intellectual vigor of antebellum Southern society.

—William J. Watkins, Jr.

Revolution From The Middle

By Samuel Francis
Middle American Press (Box 17088,
Raleigh, NC), 250 pages, 1997, \$6.95.

The word "revolution" has been tossed around so carelessly by Washington conservatives over the past 20 years that it has entirely lost its meaning, at least in the context of American politics. First, there was the Reagan Revolution which would halt the rapid growth of government, but instead saw the creation of new federal bureaucracies like the Department of Veterans Affairs. More recently, a "revolutionary" Gingrich Congress seems ready to give President Clinton nearly all the spending increases he wants. Fortunately, Samuel Francis is here to explain that revolutions are not about "balancing the budget," but rather are *cultural* in nature.

"The first thing we have to learn about fighting a culture war is that we are not fighting to 'conserve' something; we are fighting to overthrow something," he writes in the chapter 'Culture and Power.' "[We] must understand clearly and firmly that the dominant authorities in the United States—in the federal government and often in state and local gov-

ernment as well, in the two major political parties, in big business, the major foundations, the media, the schools, the universities, and most of the system of organized culture, including the arts and entertainment—not only do nothing to conserve... our traditional way of life but actually seek its destruction or are indifferent to it as survival. If our culture is going to be conserved, then, we need to dethrone the dominant authorities that threaten it.”

Such revolutions of course, take place through democratic means. And in recent years, the South has seen numerous traditionalist-leaning organizations—among them the Southern League (now League of the South), the John Randolph Club, the Southern Heritage Association, the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy—either being formed or enjoying dramatic increases in the membership rolls. Across the country, pro-term limits, anti-illegal immigrant, anti-affirmative action, and anti-gun control groups and initiatives have further rocked the Washington political elite. But these actions are only the first shots in a long battle.

Essays collected here enunciate themes familiar to readers of Sam Francis's *Southern Partisan* column: immigration, gun control, global trade, foreign interventionism and culture wars. In the 1990s, several politicians have stepped forth to claim the populist mantle. But for Francis, only Pat Buchanan has successfully combined the “Strange synthesis of right and left that characterizes the political beliefs of MARS (Middle American Radicals)—their combination of culturally conservative moral and social beliefs and with support for economically liberal policies such as Medicare, Social Security, unemployment benefits, and economic nationalism and protectionism.”

While Buchanan's 1996 campaign was victimized by a vicious media attack, the commentator's weakness, according to Francis, has been his desire to remain in a Republican party dominated by neo-

conservatives and corporate elites bent on maintaining the globalist status quo. To the Republican-neocon elite, Buchanan poses a far greater threat to their hegemony than anything Bill Clinton or Al Gore may represent. (Hence, the hysterical and concentrated media campaign against Buchanan after his victory in the New Hampshire presidential primary.)

Perhaps Francis is correct about Buchanan's political prospects. But party building is a difficult, time-consuming process. Tens of millions of dollars would have to be raised for any new party to capture the attention of a cynical public.

Still, only Buchanan possesses the personality and world view to create a whole new politics in America. It also may be dawning on Buchanan that despite his loyal services for three Republican presidents, he will never be welcomed into the party of his youth.

In the meantime, grass roots activism will have to go forward. Organizations such as the Southern Heritage Association and Sons of Confederate Veterans have, on several occasions now, won dramatic victories in Confederate battleflag fights in both South Carolina and Georgia. These and similar movements will have to influence lawmakers on other issues as well, like immigration, affirmative action and rolling back judicial tyranny. This splendid volume will surely radicalize anyone who believes *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Times*, and *The Weekly Standard* all represent acceptable conservative thinking. Buy a copy for yourself, but order some for friends and relatives, too.

—Joe Scotchie

Tennessee's Historical Landscapes. A Traveler's Guide.

By Carroll Van West.
Tennessee, 474 Pages, 1997, \$50.00
cloth / \$25.00 paper.

Tourism is one of Tennessee's major sources of revenue and for

good reason. There is lots to see in Tennessee.

More than 500 miles from East to West, Kingsport in Northeast Tennessee, for example, is closer to Canada than it is to Memphis.

Tennessee is really three states in one—mountainous East-state, the Cumberland plateau of Mid-state and the flat lands of West-state.

The Smokies in East Tennessee, attract more visitors than Yellowstone National Park.

Elvis Presley's Graceland in Memphis has become a national shrine.

And Nashville is now the music capital of America.

Professor West's big book covers it all—from Hampton's General Store in Little Skullbone to Ryman Auditorium in Nashville, with lots more.

Tennessee began in East-state and consequently there is a rich lode in old Jonesborough, the state's first capital and one time home of young Andy Jackson.

A town also historic is Greeneville, site of 18th Century Tusculum College and the home of that other Andy, Andy Johnson, who served as alderman, mayor of Greeneville, state representative, state senator, congressman, governor, U. S. senator, vice-president, president and U. S. Senator again, not to mention his service as wartime U. S. military governor of Tennessee.

Speaking of homes, a sight to see in Middle Tennessee, is President Jackson's estate, The Hermitage, outside of Nashville.

Tennessee has two colleges named after Yankees—U. S. Grant University, established in 1886 but now University of Tennessee-Chattanooga, and William Jennings Bryan College.

Speaking of colleges, a sign to see is the magnificent Gothic chapel at the University of the South in Sewanee.

There is much in this book, but it is a valuable guide for any visitor and, for that matter, valuable guide for those of us who live in Tennessee but who haven't seen it all.

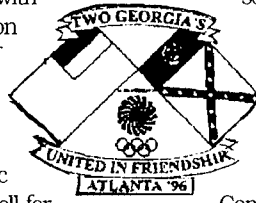
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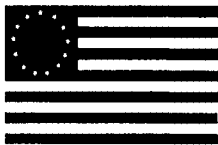
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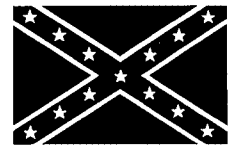
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Blood and Treasure: Confederate Empire in the Southwest

by Donald S. Frazier
Texas A & M University Press 1997,
361 pages, 1997, \$29.95 cloth

Too many modern Confederates forget that the South stood for more than states' rights. It stood for the acquisition of Southern states. With plans to annex Cuba, Mexico, and more, the South had a far more ambitious definition of manifest destiny than did the North. Backing its imperial ambition were the hot-headed men of Texas, who had already wrested one Republic from Mexico, and who were ready to do it again, and again—whether it meant seizing Chihuahua or Nicaragua.

The initial target was New Mexico. But California's Pacific shores beckoned. A well-organized minority of Californians, especially in the southern half of the state, had raised "the Bear Flag" of the California Republic in support of secession. Southern-sympathizing Coloradans had raised a rattlesnake banner. And the territory of Arizona was *de facto* Confederate.

Donald Frazier's *Blood and Treasure* revisits these heady days when it appeared that mineral wealth of the West, California's ports, and the length and breadth of Mexico might fall to the Confederacy—dreams that died a miserable little death in the scrub and desert, where small armies clashed in intense, blood skirmishes, rebel versus federal, Texas versus Comanche, Mescalero, and Chirichua.

The Texans made a good showing, not only against the Indians—whom they fought in the absence of federal troops—but against the federals themselves. As Frazier sums up in reviewing the battle of Val Verde: "More than anything else, the fighting in New Mexico marked the only real showdown between the military tradition of Andrew Jackson, San Jacinto, and Texas Rangers and pro-

fessionalism epitomized by West Point. The arrogant "regulars" had grappled with the self-assured volunteers, and the amateurs had won."

In the long term, though, the federals in the Far West had vastly superior material resources and leadership than the Confederates under the direction of kidney-diseased and whisky-self-prescribed Brigadier General Henry Hopkins Sibley. Sibley's plans were grand, but his resources were thin. Texas troops and material were wanted—and sent—to the main battle fronts of the Confederacy, leaving Sibley with meager resources of men and supplies to capture and garrison his imperial desert possession, the barren wastes of which did not always impress his troops. "If I had Yankee at my disposal I would give them this country and force them to live in it," wrote Captain John Shropshire, rather underwhelmed by the charms of Arizona.

Frazier posits that "Sibley's failed adventure might have provided one of the few prospects for Southern independence." But in reality, the war in the Far West, however well it is captured in Frazier's book, was a sideshow of a sideshow. The real war was in the East. If it was to be won, it would be won by the Army of Northern Virginia.

A Rebel's Recollections

by George Cary Eggleston,
LSU Press, 187 pages, 1997, \$10.95 paper.

One member of the Army of Northern Virginia who rode with Stuart and surrendered with Lee was George Cary Eggleston, whose famous and entertaining memoir *A Rebel's Recollections* is now back in print through LSU. While lacking the blood and thunder of Donald Frazier's account of Confederate empire, it is all the more entertaining because of it. His portrait of the "boyish" Stuart is now legend. But his por-

traits of the enigmatic Jackson (especially) and the "robust" Lee are almost equality as good. But aside from the war, he offers a wonderful portrait of antebellum Virginia: "The Virginians were satisfied with things as they were, and if there were reformers born among them, they went elsewhere to work their changes. Society in the Old Dominion was like a well-rolled and closely packed gravel walk, in which each pebble has found precisely the place it fits best. There was no giving way under one's feet no uncomfortable grinding of loose materials is one walked about over the firm and long-used ways of the Virginia social life." Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, but to be in Virginia was very heaven. ☼

H. W. Crocker III is Executive Editor of Regnery Publishing and an editorial adviser to the Conservative Book Club and the Movie & Entertainment Book Club.



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THE DIVIDING LINE

PATRICK J. BUCHANAN



When the U.S. merchandise trade deficit came in at near \$190 billion last year, free traders had a ready retort: Trade deficits don't matter!

Well, we're about to find out.

Since summer, stocks have crashed and burned in Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan and even mighty Hong Kong. In all except Hong Kong (at this writing), the currencies have been cut free of the dollar and plummeted. What will become of these nations? We need only look at Mexico.

After devaluation of the peso in 1994, Mexico's minimum wage fell to 41 cents an hour, and real wages are below what they were in 1980. A similar future awaits millions of Asian workers.

But what of us Americans? Who wins and who loses from the disaster? In the short run, American consumers may benefit. At Christmas, we may see our store shelves packed with a greater abundance and variety of Asian-made goods, at ever lower prices. To earn the cash to pay down their dollar-denominated loans, the nations of the Pacific Rim are going to have to ratchet up exports.

To my libertarian brethren, some

of whom appear to believe God put us on this Earth so that we might all go shopping, the new Asian competition for American's market is wonderful news. More things to buy, at even cheaper prices. O happy day.

Asian nations, however, with their economies hammered, their money cheapened, their people's savings looted by the devaluations, will be cutting back on purchases of U.S. goods. Add soaring Asian exports to the United States to stagnant U.S. exports to Asia, and America's trade deficit is about to explode. Prediction: The U.S. merchandise trade deficit will be over \$200 billion in '98; by 2000, it will be near \$300 billion. If Hong Kong cracks and cuts its dollar loose from the U.S. dollar, and the crisis spreads to Japan, look out.

Who are the certain losers from the Asian crisis? America's manufacturing workers. The flood tide of imports will increase the annual kill of U.S. manufacturing jobs, and wage cuts across Asia, from devaluations, will convince transnational companies to site new plants in the Pacific Rim. Downward pressure on U.S. wages will increase, as companies can tell workers: Either accept a wage freeze, or we shut this place down and build a new factory in the Far East. In the global economy, America's manufacturing workers are the snail darters, threatened with extinction, yet largely unwanted.

The politics of all this will be interesting. If Al Gore, whose recent appearance in Iowa was boycotted by unions, thinks he has problems new from chatting up fast track and free trade—wait until the tsunami of Asian imports hits America's shores.

But the geopolitics will be even more interesting. The most interesting reaction to the crisis in Asia will be that of China, a practitioner of "Corleonomics"—the economics of the Godfather Don Vito Corleone.

For half a decade China has been

waging a trade war with its Asian neighbors for the U.S. market. Exploiting American folly, greed and addiction to the heroin of free trade, China has stolen U.S. intellectual property, forced U.S. companies to build plants in China as the price of a deal and extorted from those companies technology it cannot thief. U.S. exports to China are subject to tariffs, taxes and trade barriers that keep U.S. sales to China about two-thirds of what we sell to tiny Singapore. China gets away with it because the American ideologues can conceive of no alternative to free trade.

Thanks to this Clinton-Republican trade policy of constructive appeasement, China's trade surplus with the United States hit \$5 billion last month alone! That is an annual trade surplus of \$60 billion a year, a 50 percent increase over last year's mammoth \$40 billion surplus.

Thus has China's American colony become its primary source of dollars she uses to pay for planes, warships and missiles, and the salaries of Russian military technicians and advisers new teaching China how to fight the Seventh Fleet. Americans buying their kids toys Made in China are helping subsidize the foundation of a war machine that may one day take the lives of their sons.

China has an immense geostrategic stake in not losing its U.S. market. All her plans for hegemony in Asia depend on a constant flow of U.S. investment dollars and huge U.S. trade surpluses.

A life-and-death struggle among Asia's nations to retain and expand their share of America's \$7.5 trillion market is thus about to begin. Americans who believe that "what's good for consumers is good for America" see this as delightful. So did the lazy grasshopper who laughed at the ants for working all summer long.



What's Wrong With The Republican Party

It is no secret that there is something very deeply wrong with the Republican Party. After blowing the presidential election last year, after repeatedly screwing up congressional confrontations with President Clinton, after the botched coup attempt against Speaker Newt Gingrich, it is now numbingly apparent even to the party's most loyal supporters that the condition of the GOP may be terminal.

This perception immediately leads to two important questions: What's wrong with the Republicans, and what can be done about it? There are no simple answers to either one, but a recent remark of Mr. Gingrich gives us a clue as to the answer to the first.

Writing in *The New Yorker*, Joe Klein quotes the Speaker as expatiating on the Tower of Babel in the nation's schools. "Do you realize that there are two hundred languages spoken in the Chicago school system?" Mr. Gingrich asked. "That's an asset, not a liability. Let's pair up the kids. You get Sally to speak Cambodian and Sally gets you to speak English. If they succeed we give each of them a thousand dollars. We'd have kids practicing language seven days a week."

It's hard to believe any grown man would utter this kind of foolishness. In the first place, the numberless languages now being chattered in American school systems are a liability by anyone's definition. Administratively, they make communication of simple classroom instructions almost impossible. Financially, teaching immigrant children to speak English costs millions of dollars that could be spent on more use-

ful matters. Educationally, teaching English as a second language takes teachers away from dealing with the more serious learning problems of other students. Culturally, the explosion of multilingualism threatens one of the most fundamental instruments of a common nationality—the ability to talk to each other and to share the literary and linguistic heritage of a common civilization.

For Mr. Gingrich to imagine that America's linguistic anarchy is an "asset" suggests that mentally he lives on the same Martian mountain range that the Pathfinder robots have been photographing. But his remark betrays a lot more than his lack of contact with earthly reality.

It tells us that Mr. Gingrich has essentially signed up with the "diversity myth" that Bill Clinton and his administration and its apologists in the media and cultural elites have been weaving. Behind Mr. Gingrich's delusion that polyglot school systems are an asset lies the more basic delusion that a common nationality is obsolete and that whatever serves to disintegrate nationality is progressive.

In somewhat more explicit terms, this is precisely the notion that Mr. Clinton himself has been peddling in his continuing experiments in "racial reconciliation." Several weeks ago, speaking to the Urban League, the president announced, "In this global society of ours, it is an incredible advantage if we can not only get along and tolerate each other, but actually celebrate our differences." He did not specifically celebrate speaking 200 different languages, but it certainly follows from his remarks that it is no liability to do so.

Mr. Gingrich, in short, believes

pretty much the same thing in this respect as Mr. Clinton, and those beliefs are not confined to them alone. In those beliefs they and the nation's cultural elites are pretty much of the same mind. Moreover, most Republican office holders probably wouldn't disagree either.

That is why the Republicans find it so hard to deal with the immigration issue—they have swallowed the claim that immigrants have as much right to come here as native Americans have to be here, and they believe that because they no longer understand what a nation is.

And in large part it is because so many Republican leaders have abandoned any serious belief in a common nationality and have come to agree with the Clintonites that it is "reactionary" to support national identity that they have revealed so much incompetence in the last few years. Secretly sharing the same assumptions as their opponents, they are hard put to find good reasons to oppose the president on many of the basic issues of the day—immigration, affirmative action, crime and educational collapse. Uncertain of what they do believe or how to put it into practice, they squabble among themselves. Unable to speak to most Americans who still believe in a common nationality, they speak only to *The New Yorker* and similar organs of opinion.

The Republican problem is that the party's leadership has—often unconsciously—signed on with its adversaries and is unable to locate convincing grounds for opposing them. What can be done about the problem is another question for which there is as yet no clear answer.



Samuel Francis is nationally syndicated with Tribune Media and is an original contributor to Southern Partisan.

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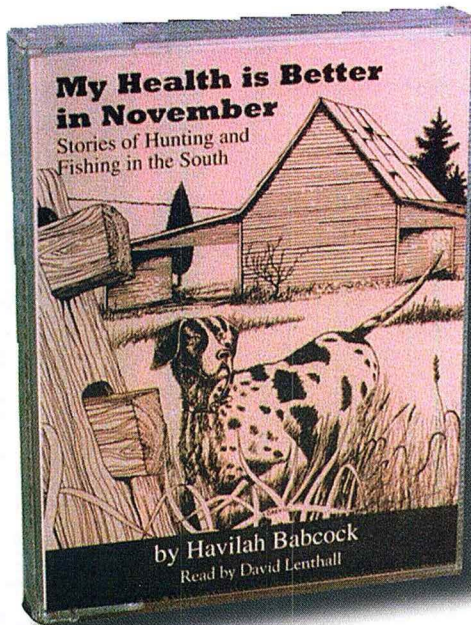
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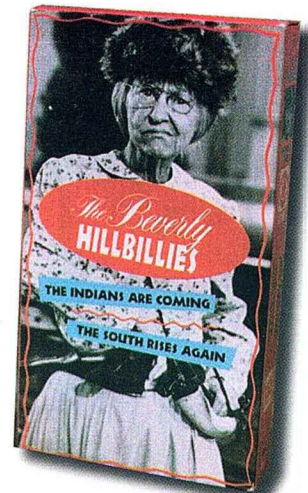
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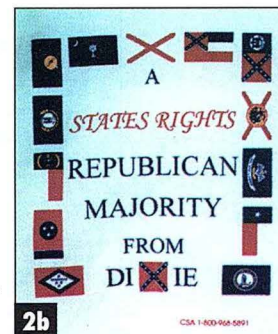
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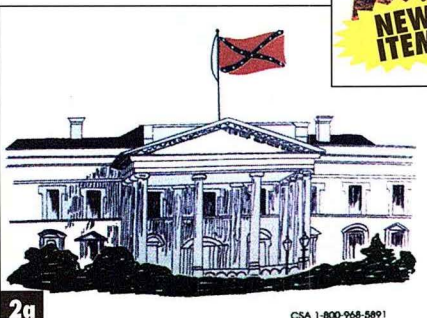
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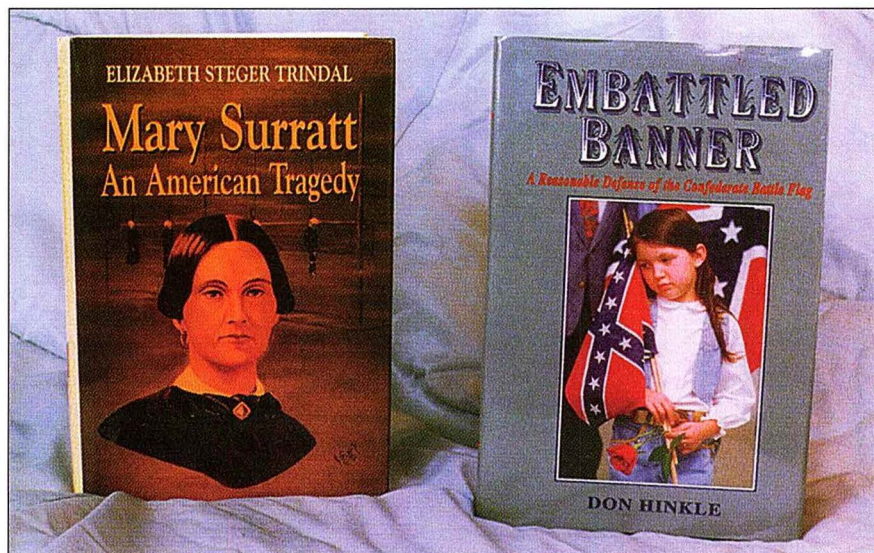
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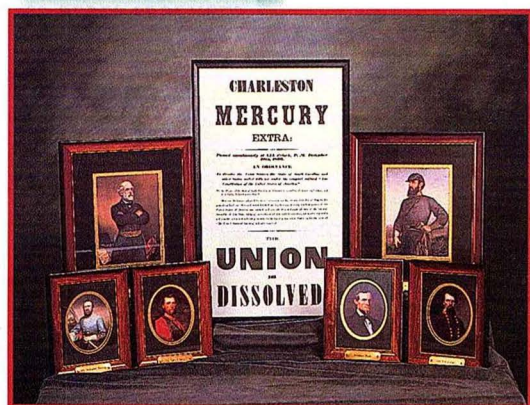
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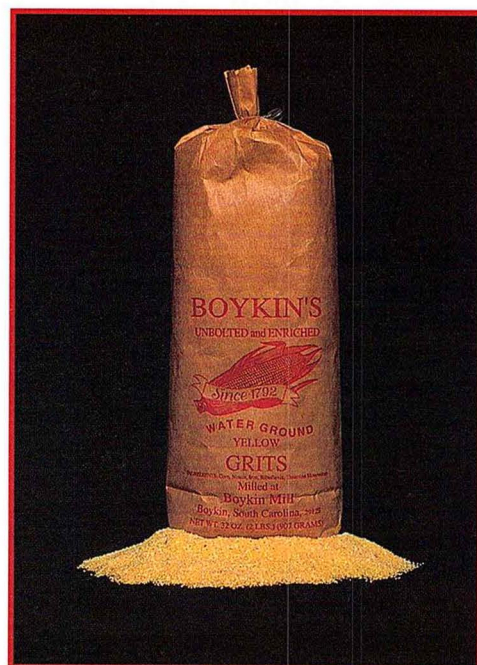
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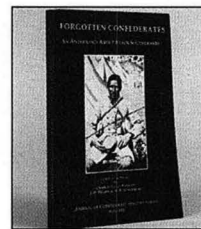
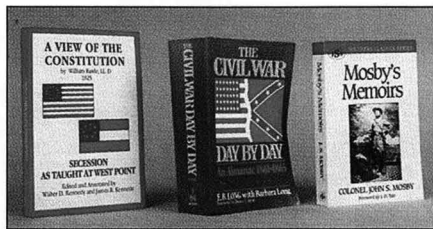
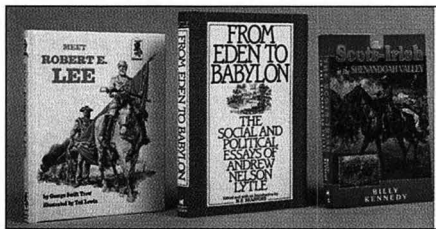
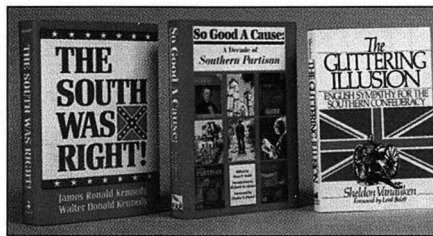
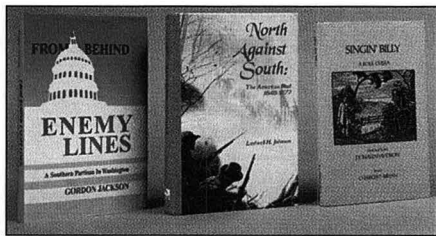
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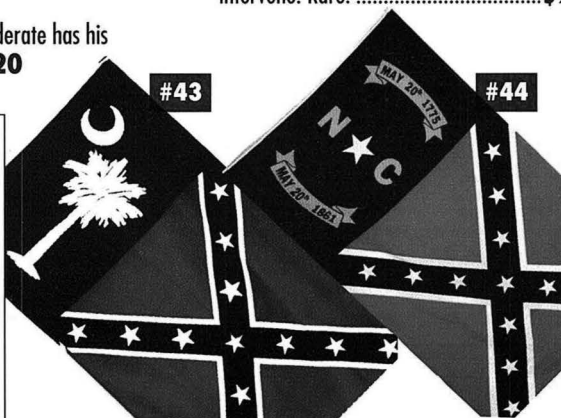
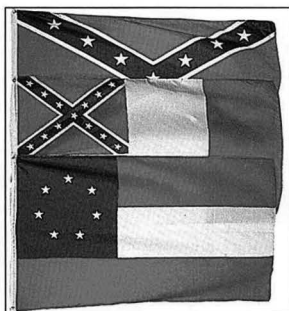
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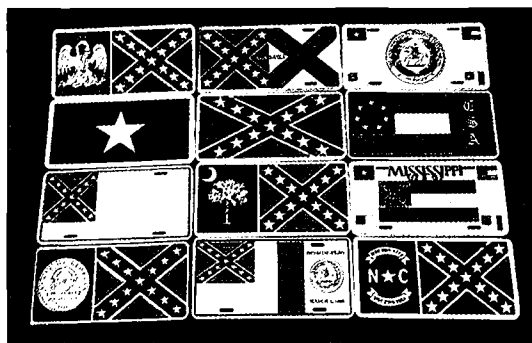
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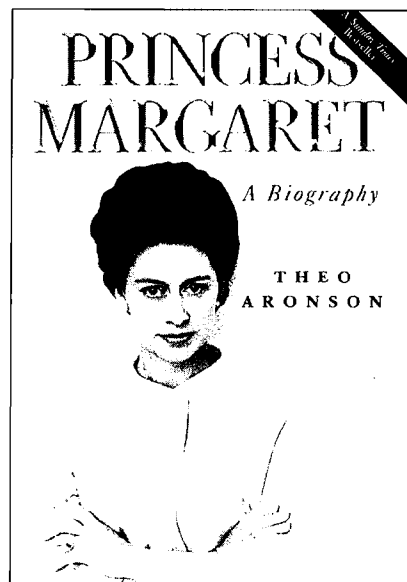
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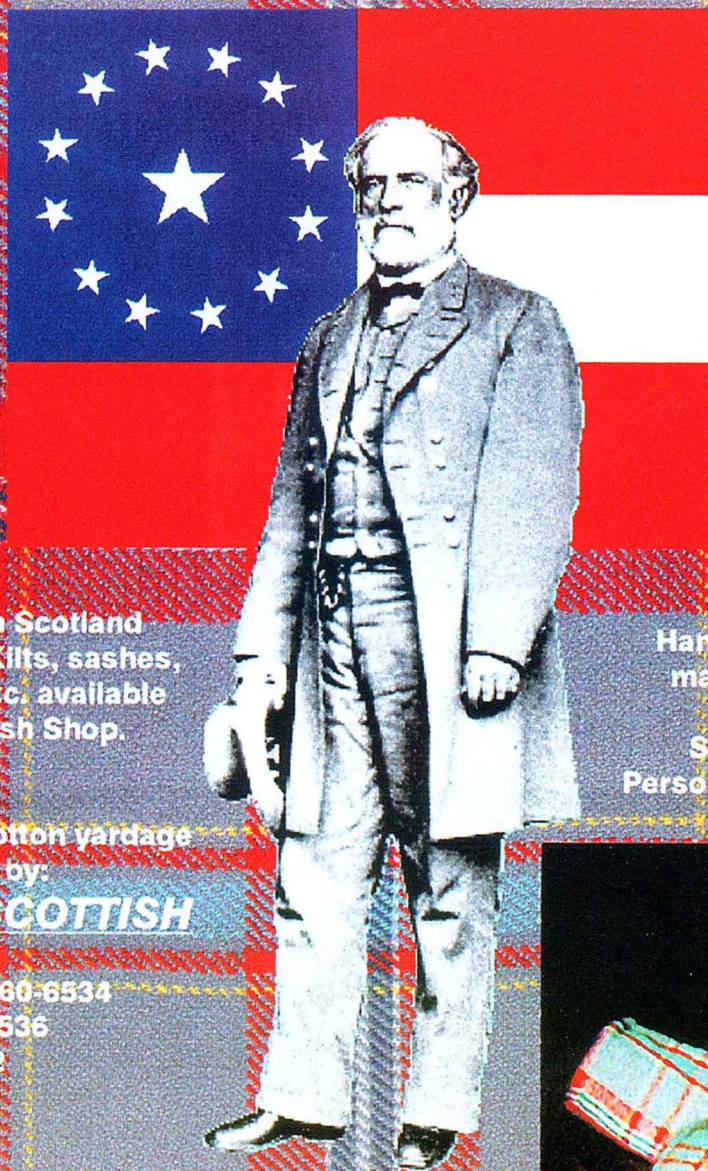
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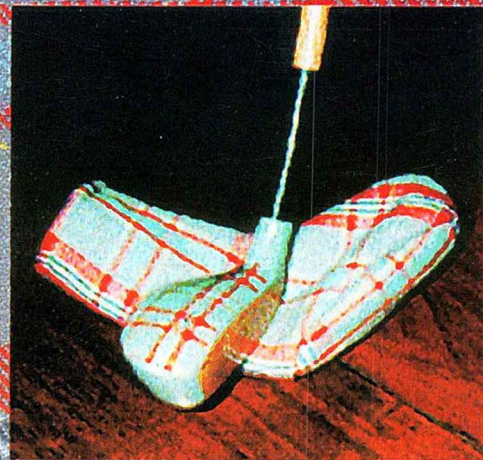
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